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THE HISTORY

OF INFANT-BAPTISM.

BY

WILLIAM WALL, M.A.

VICAR OF SHOREHAM, KENT, AND OF MILTON NEXT GRAVESEND.

TOGETHER WITH

MR. GALE'S REFLECTIONS,

AND

DR. WALL'S DEFENCE.

SECOND EDITION,

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THE

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THE

HISTORY

OF

INFANT-BAPTISM.

PART II.

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5. Quotations absolutely false.

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II. Secondly, many that are produced are nothing to the purpose.

As, when the antipædobaptists do fill their collections of this nature with passages out of the ancient Fathers that relate to the baptizing of adult persons. There is no pædobaptist, but does grant that there are innumerable such places; for in the first 300 or 400 years of Christianity, (in which space of time it was that the greatest part of the heathen world, being converted, came into the church,) the baptisms of grown persons converted were more in number than the baptisms of the children of Christians: as it must needs be, since the apostles, at their death, left the world in such a state, as that there was probably a hundred heathens left for one Christian; even in the Roman empire, where they spent most of their pains: but at the

[a] Part i. ch. 16. §. 1, 2.

[b] Part i. ch. 23.

end of 300 or 400 years, there were probably ten Christians for one heathen. Now in that space of time there are recorded a great many sermons and other discourses, persuading people to come in and be baptized: and in those discourses they instruct them in what is necessary thereto, as that they must first understand and believe the principles of the Christian religion, and resolve to forsake their wicked courses and idolatrous worships. And commonly when they are upon this theme, they speak of baptism just as the church of England does in the Catechism; that there is required of persons to be baptized, repentance and faith. There are also extant many sermons made to the persons newly baptized, putting them in mind of their vow and covenant. And it is common for the antipædobaptists to cite some passages out of such discourses, which, taken by themselves, look as if those authors were against infant-baptism, and allowed it only to grown persons; but the contrary appears in that the same authors, in other places, when they speak of the case of infants, do shew their opinion and practice to have been otherwise; and that they looked upon that as a particular and excepted case. For this sort of quotations is often made out of Chrysostom, Gregory Nazianzen, and even St. Austin himself.

In short, they have in this matter dealt with those ancient authors just as they did lately with Mr. Baxter; who being busy in writing something in defence of infant-baptism, heard the hawkers cry under his window [c], 'Mr. Baxter's Arguments for 'Believers,' &c. being a pamphlet of collections

[c] Baxter, More Proofs of Infants Church Membership and right to Baptism, p. 414.

CHAP. I. taken out of some of Mr. Baxter's works, wherein
Year after the apostles. he, speaking of the terms of the baptismal covenant, had shewn the necessity of a justifying faith in order to baptism; though in the same books he had declared he spoke in reference to adult persons only. On which occasion Mr. Baxter says, 'the men that 'cite authors at this rate, cite me against myself, 'with the like confidence.'

Indeed, Mr. Tombes wrote a piece against Mr. Baxter, called, *Felo de se*[d], or, *The Self-destroyer:* in which he endeavoured to shew, that though Mr. Baxter intended these proofs of the necessity of faith, only in the case of the baptism of adult persons; yet 'his arguments prove more: and that the 'middle terms of his arguments do beat down his 'own tenet of infant-baptism.' If the antipædobaptists had dealt only thus in their quotations out of the ancients; and had declared their purpose to be, to improve these sayings of the Fathers to confute the opinion and practice of the said Fathers themselves; none could deny them the liberty of making their best of such a course. And they may, if they think fit, indict the Fathers of being *Felones de se.* But it is common with them to cite such passages, as evidences that the authors were against infant-baptism; or, that there was no baptism of infants practised in those ages, or those churches, because they find such passages concerning the baptizing of grown persons, and concerning the qualifications required in them.

Such places as these I have left out, inasmuch as

[d] [Felo de se; or Baxter's Self-destroying, in twenty arguments against Infant-baptism, gathered out of his own writing. 4°. London, 1659.]

they only prove that there were frequent baptisms of adult persons in those times; which nobody denies. CH. Yet the apostles.

Yet I shall here set down for instance two of them, which do in appearance, the most of any that I have met with, make for the purpose of the antipædobaptists.

Basil. contra Eunomium, lib. iii.[e] 370.

Πιστεῦσαι γὰρ δεῖ πρότερον εἶτα τῷ βαπτίσματι ἐσφραγίσασθαι.

'For one must believe first: and then be sealed 'with baptism.'

Hieronym. in Matt. xxviii. 19. 378.

'Primum docent omnes gentes, deinde doctas 'intingunt aqua: non enim potest fieri ut corpus 'baptismi recipiat sacramentum, nisi ante anima 'fidei susceperit veritatem.'

'They first teach all the nations, then when they 'are taught they baptize them with water; for 'it cannot be that the body should receive the 'sacrament of baptism, unless the soul have before 'received the true faith.'

St. Hierome here commenting on the commission given by our Saviour to the apostles[f] of carrying the gospel to the nations that were heathens, explains the method they were to use, viz. first, to teach those nations the Christian religion, and then to baptize them; which all pædobaptists grant to be the method that ought ever to be used. For if there be any nation of Indians to be converted nowadays, they use the same: and yet, when they

[e] [Sect. 5. Op. tom. i. p. 276. ed. Benedict. 1721.]

[f] Matt. xxviii. 19. [Op. tom. vii. p. 243. edit. Vallarsii.]

CHAP. I. Year after the apostles.

have converted and baptized the parents, they do also, at the parents' desire, baptize what children they have. And it is of such heathen people or nations that St. Hierome here speaks, that their minds must be instructed before their bodies be baptized.

St. Basil is there proving, against the heretic Eunomius, the divinity of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, by this argument; that we are baptized in the name of them as well as of the Father, and consequently are to believe in them; for that baptism supposes faith in that Deity in whose name the baptism is. And applying this to the case of one that learns the faith of the Christian, shews that he must be taught to believe in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, (viz. that each of these persons is God,) or else ought not to be baptized with those words; and that consequently the Eunomians did in effect renounce their baptism by renouncing this faith. As there was no dispute between the catholics and Eunomians about infant-baptism; so St. Basil will appear to any one that reads him, not to have had any thought *pro* or *contra*, at that place, about it.

But it happens very unluckily for the purpose of those that produce these sayings, that both of these Fathers are known by other passages to have owned infant-baptism; as I have shewn plainly in the First Part of this work[5].

III. Thirdly, some quotations that are brought, are wrested and altered by those that bring them to another sense than that which they carry in the authors themselves.

[5] Chap. 12. 15. 19.

As for example: Danvers[h] cites out of Eusebius[i], c that Dionysius Alexandrinus writing to Sextus, V bishop of Rome, testifies, 'that it was their custom th 'to baptize upon profession of faith; and that 15. 'one who had been baptized by heretics, not upon 'profession of faith, did desire to be so baptized, 'accounting his former for no baptism.'

This, as it is here by Mr. Danvers brought in and worded, would seem to be an instance of a man that having been baptized in infancy, desired now to be baptized again. But that which Dionysius does there write, is in these words, and no other[k]:

'The man being present when some were bap-'tized, and hearing the interrogatories and answers, 'came to me weeping; and falling down at my feet, 'confessed and declared, that the baptism wherewith 'he had been baptized by the heretics, was not this '[or this sort of] baptism, nor had any likeness to 'this of ours, but was full of impieties and blas-'phemies. He said, he was sore troubled in con-'science, and durst not presume to lift up his eyes 'to God, for that he was baptized with those profane 'words and ceremonies.'

Now this is clearly the case of a man that had been baptized by the Valentinians, (or some such heretics,) who, as Irenæus tells us[l], did not baptize in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; but with strange and profane forms of words which he there recites, and some of which I do hereafter recite[m]. All which is nothing relating to the case

[h] Treatise of Baptism, p. 50, second edit.

[i] Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. cap. 9. [k] Apud Eusebium, loc. citat.

[l] Lib. i. cap. 18. [cap. 21. edit. Benedict.] [m] Chap. 5. §. 1.

CHAP. I. of infant-baptism: and he that compares the words, will observe how foully they are quoted.

Year after the apostles.

IV. Fourthly, some quotations are yet more unfair: as, when the author cited does not say that for which he is cited; but he says something from whence the other does draw it as a consequence, and then sets down that consequence as if it were the author's own words.

278. Thus Danvers, in the foresaid treatise[n] says, that St. Hierome, in his epistle against the errors of John bishop of Jerusalem, says, 'that in the eastern 'churches the adults were only baptized;' and again, in his epistle to Pammachius, says, 'that they are to 'be admitted to baptism to whom it doth properly 'belong, viz. those only who have been instructed in 'the faith.'

Now if one read over that epistle of St. Hierome's to Pammachius, against the errors of John bishop of Jerusalem, and all the other epistles of his to Pammachius, (for such work one has with quotations set down after such a blundering manner,) there is no such thing.

But this there is[o]: the said bishop having said, that 'in a certain sermon of his he had fully dis-'coursed of the faith and all the doctrines of the 'church:' St. Hierome takes occasion to reprove this as a confident saying, that he should pretend to do all that in one sermon: and then adds, 'We 'have a custom to discourse for forty days together,

[n] Treatise of Baptism, p. 56.

[o] Epist. 61. ad Pammachium de erroribus, &c. *prope medium.* [Rather see St. Jerome's treatise, 'Liber contra Joannem Jerosolymitanum,' §. 11, 12, 13.—Op. tom. ii. p. 419. ed. Vallars.]

'to those that *are to be baptized*, concerning the CH
'Holy Trinity,' &c. 'If you on that text could in
'one hour discourse of all the doctrinal points; the
'what need is there to continue such discourses for
'forty days! But if you did recapitulate all that
'you used to preach in the whole Lent,' &c.

There is also another passage toward the end of the epistle, where he thus expostulates with the said bishop; 'Do we divide the church, who but a few 'months ago, about Whitsuntide, (when the sun 'being eclipsed, people thought the day of judg-'ment was coming.) did present forty persons of 'both sexes, and several ages, to your presbyters to 'be baptized! And yet we had five presbyters then 393
'in the monastery, who might have done it by their 'own right; but they would do nothing to anger 'you. Or do not you rather divide the church, who 'ordered your presbyters at Bethlehem, that they 'should not give baptism to our candidates at 'Easter, whom we therefore sent to Diospolis to 'bishop Dionysius to be baptized[q]?'

Here is indeed a plain account of adult persons baptized in those times: and that they used to be catechised all the Lent before their baptism. But he that shall conclude from hence, that they only were baptized, and then shall quote the place and set it down as St. Hierome's words, [that in the eastern churches they only were admitted to baptism.] is by no means to be trusted with the quoting of authors.

V. Fifthly, some of the quotations brought in this case are absolutely false: and neither the

[q] [Ibid. sect. 42.]

CHAP. I. words cited, nor any like them, are at all to be found in the books mentioned.

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So Danvers in his said treatise[r] cites St. Hilary
254. for three several sayings. The first whereof is found in the book mentioned: the second is not; but there is a sentence to the same purpose in another book. These two are not so material as to need reciting here. The third (which is very material, if it were true) is, that St. Hilary should say, 'that all the 'eastern churches did only baptize the adult.' The book he seems to refer to, is St. Hilary's second book *de Trinitate;* for that only is mentioned. But neither there (nor, as I am very confident, any where else) does St. Hilary say any such thing.

Both these last quotations out of St. Hierome and Hilary are amended in a postscript by Danvers[s]: and for *eastern* he says, we must read *western.*

But this mends not the matter, but makes it worse: for there is no such thing said of either of them. Indeed if either Hierome or Hilary, or any other author of those times, had said that it was the custom either of the eastern church, or western church, or any church at all, to baptize only the adult; and the places where they said so could be produced; it would be a quotation more for the purpose of the antipædobaptists than any they have yet brought.

And for Mr. Danvers (after that Mr. Baxter[t] and

[r] Part i. cent. 4. [in the 'Abstract of the History of Baptism 'throughout all ages,' prefixed to his treatise.]

[s] Postscript to the Baptist's Answer to Wills's Appeal against Danvers.

[t] [See Baxter's 'More Proofs of Infants,' &c. 1675: the second part of which is a confutation of the strange forgeries of Mr. H. Danvers. See also Wills' 'Infant Baptism asserted,' &c.

Mr. Wills had so publicly challenged him for a forger of quotations; and Wills had put in an appeal to his own party against him) to amend in a P. S. to the answer to the said appeal these quotations by putting 'western' for 'eastern,' as if the authors had really said so of one of them: this, if joined with a great many other instances in the said book, was the boldest attempt upon the belief of a reader that ever I knew made. CHAP. I. Year after the apostles.

It would have been a very tedious thing both to me and the reader, to recite all such quotations, and then to shew the falseness or mistake of them. But instead of doing that, I do declare that all that I have seen that seemed to be to the purpose I have searched; and the search after such as have proved false, spurious, &c. has cost me as much pains as the collecting of these true ones. And of those that I have so seen or searched, I have left out none in this collection that make for or against the baptism of infants, but such as are (and, I think, plainly) of some of the five sorts before mentioned. And if any one, that meets with any other which I have not met with, will be so kind as to inform me of it, by word or letter, I will (if I live to see any more editions of this mean work) add it to the rest; and that indifferently, as I said, whether it make for or against pædobaptism: provided it be genuine, and to the purpose, and out of authors within the time limited.

' in answer to H. Danvers, with a full detection of his misrepre-
' sentation,' &c. 8vo. 1675.]

CHAP. II.

The Opinions of Modern learned Men, concerning the Ancient Practice or Omission of Pædobaptism.

CHAP. II. Year after the apostles.

§. 1. AS for what later authors have said concerning the practice of these primitive times; it would be a voluminous work to collect all their opinions or verdicts. Neither would it answer so much pains, to have the account of the modern writers, as to what they judge may be collected from the ancient writings, when we ourselves have the writings themselves to recur to. Yet it may be worth the while to spend a few words on that matter in general.

1. And first, it is notorious, that almost all the learned men in the world that have occasion to mention this matter, do conclude from what they read, that it has been the general practice of the Christian church from the beginning, to baptize infants. To name any particulars were endless and frivolous.

2. Some few (as it happens in all matters) are of a different opinion concerning the ancient practice. And they are of two sorts.

Some have thought that there was a time in the Christian church when no infants were baptized, but that pædobaptism was brought in after a certain term of years.

Others, that baptism of infants was practised from the beginning, but not universally; but that some Christians would baptize their infant children, and others would not. And that it was counted indifferent.

Of the first sort, viz. of those that have thought

that there was a time when no baptism of infants was used. I know of none (besides Mr. Tombes himself) but Walafridus Strabo [a] and Ludovicus Vives: unless we are to add to them Curcellæus and Rigaltius. CHAP. II. Year after the apostles.

II. Strabo has some favour shewed him, when he is reckoned among learned men. He lived in a very ignorant age; and for those times might pass for a learned man. He had read St. Austin's book of Confessions, and finding it mentioned there that St. Austin was baptized when he was of man's age, he seems to have concluded from thence, that it was in old time the general use for Christians to defer their children's baptism till they were grown up: though he might with a little more advertency have found, by the same book, that St. Austin's father was a heathen when St. Austin was born, and for many years after; and did not turn Christian, nor was baptized himself, till a little before he died. 750.

Of that instance of St. Austin, and some others, I shall speak in the next chapter. Strabo's words are these: 'Libro de exordiis et incrementis rerum 'ecclesiasticarum [x],' cap. 26.

'It is to be noted, that in the primitive times the 'grace of baptism was wont to be given to those 'only who were arrived to that maturity of body 'and mind, that they could know and understand 'what were the benefits of baptism, what was to be

[a] [Walafridus Strabo was a Benedictine monk, of the famous abbey of Fulda in Germany, and afterwards dean of St. Gallen. He died in or about the year 849, leaving behind him several pieces both in prose and poetry, which have come down to our times.]

[x] [This work was published at Mayence, in the year 1549, and is reprinted in the Bibliotheca Patrum, tom. xv. Lyons edition, and tom. ix. p. 950, edit. Colon.]

CHAP. II. 'confessed and believed, and, in a word, what was
Year after the apostles. 'to be observed of those that are regenerated in
'Christ. For the reverend Father Austin relates of
'himself in his book of Confessions, that he con-
'tinued a catechumen till he was almost twenty-
'five years old: which he did with that intention,
288. 'that during that space being instructed in all par-
'ticulars, he might be led by his own freewill to
'choose what he thought fit; and that the heat of
'his youth being now abated, he might better ob-
'serve that which he had purposed.

'But when the diligence about our divine religion
'increased; the Christians understanding that the
'original sin of Adam did involve in guilt, not only
'those who had added to it by their own wicked
'works, but those also who having done no wicked-
'ness themselves, yet because (as the Psalmist says)
'*they were conceived and born in iniquity*, cannot
'be free from sin, since they spring from a polluted
'root; so that the apostle had reason to say con-
'cerning all persons, *All have sinned, and have*
'*need* [x] *of the glory of God, being justified freely by*
'*his grace;* and to say of Adam, *In whom all have*
'*sinned*:—the orthodox Christians, I say, under-
'standing this, lest children should perish if they
'died without the remedy of the grace of regenera-
'tion, appointed them to be baptized for the for-
'giveness of sins.

'Not as some heretics, enemies of God's free
'grace, maintained, that there was no necessity for
'infants' baptism, because they had never sinned.
'If that doctrine were true, either they would not
'be baptized at all; or, if they were baptized

[x] [*have need.* The expression used by Strabo is *egent.*]

'without having any need of it, the sacrament of CH.
'baptism would be imperfect in them, and not the Yea
'true baptism which we in the creed confess to be the
'given for the forgiveness of sins. stles

'Therefore since all persons do perish by original 'sin, whom the grace of God does not free, (even 'such as have added no increase of their own wick- 'edness,) infants are of necessity to be baptized. 'Which both St. Austin shews in his book *de Bap- 'tismo Parvulorum*, and the African councils tes- 'tify, and is manifested by a great many other 'proofs from the other Fathers.'

This man, with his little reading, seems to have 315.
supposed that both the doctrine of pædobaptism, and also that of original sin, had their beginning but about St. Austin's time. His mistake in the first may appear by the quotations here produced; and in the other, by those mentioned by Vossius[y] in his Pelagian History. He also invents a reason for St. Austin's delay of his baptism after he was grown up, which is utterly contrary to St. Austin's own account; who relates at large in that his book of Confessions, that it was because he was in suspense whether he should be a Christian or a Manichee[z]. He miserably mistakes the doctrine of the Pelagians, as if they had denied infants' baptism to be necessary. He himself owns it to be necessary; and yet says that the ancients used it not.

But indeed there appears through all his book an

y [G. I. Vossius, Historia de Controversiis quæ Pelagius ejusque reliquiæ moverunt; editio secunda, emendata et aucta, 4°. Amst. 1655. See particularly the second book.]

z [August. Confession. lib. v. cap. 14. §. 25.—Op. tom. i. p. 118.]

CHAP. II. affectation to shew how all the doctrines and mysteries of the Christian religion have come to more and more perfection by process of time; as he makes the title of his book to be. "Of the beginning and "advancement of ecclesiastical matters." And he was willing to say some such thing of baptism, that this chapter might be like the rest.

Year after the epoch.

1522. III. What Ludovicus Vives[a] says of this matter, is in his commentaries upon St. Austin's book *de Civitate Dei*, lib. i. cap. 27.

'In former times no person was admitted to the 'holy font, till he were of age, and did understand 'what that mystical water meant, and did himself 'desire to be washed with it, and did express this 'desire more than once. A resemblance of which 'custom we see still in our baptisms of infants. For 'an infant born that day, or the day before, is asked 'the question, whether he will be baptized? And 'that question they ask three times over. In whose 'name the godfathers answer, that he does desire it. 'I hear that in some cities of Italy the old custom is 'still in great measure preserved.'

[a] [John Louis Vives, a learned Spaniard, was born at Valencia, in the year 1492. Having studied at Paris and Louvain, and obtained a high reputation for learning, he was appointed by *bishop Fox* one of the fellows of his college of Corpus Christi, at Oxford; here he continued for some time, was admitted a doctor of law, and read lectures in that and the belles lettres. His commentary on St. Austin's work, 'De Civitate Dei,' was first published in 1522, with a dedication to king Henry VIII.; it was reprinted in 1622, 1661, and is found in some collections of that Father's works.

Vives subsequently falling under Henry's displeasure, in the matter of the royal divorce, was imprisoned for some time; but recovering his liberty quitted England for Bruges in the Netherlands, where it is thought he ended his days, in 1537, or 1541.]

Since this Vives lived so little while ago, and produces no proof out of any author to confirm his opinion: his affirming any thing concerning any old custom is of no more authority, than if any one now living should say the same without producing his proof. Especially since he was but a young man when he wrote these commentaries, and, though learned in philology and secular history, yet confesses himself in his preface to them, that as for divinity, which was none of his profession, he minded it only so far as his other studies would give him leave. CHAP. II. Year after the apostles.

It is certain that the occasion given him, from St. Austin's words, on which he there comments, to say any such thing, is very slender. For St. Austin is only speaking of some baptized at the age of understanding, without the least intimation that they were children of Christian parents.

And for the cities of Italy that he mentions, I think nobody ever heard of them before, nor since: unless we will suppose that some remainders of the Petrobrusians, who are said about 400 years before Vives' time to have been antipædobaptists, and of whom I shall by and by give some account[b], might continue that practice in some of the valleys of Piedmont. But if it were so, these men were too late, for any opinion concerning the ancient practice to be founded on what they did. 1050.

IV. Curcellæus[c] says the same thing as Vives does. And there is to be said of him not only what was said of Vives, that affirming a thing of antiquity, 1550.

[b] Chap. vii. §. 5.

[c] [See Stephani Curcellæi Opera Theologica, fol. Amst. 1675. p. 912.]

CHAP. II. Year after the apostles.

he produces no quotation for proof, but also that he brings it in to maintain another tenet as paradoxical as this itself is. He has a 'Dissertation concerning 'Original Sin.' He denies that there is any such thing; as most that are inclined to Socinianism do. He brings as an objection against his own doctrine, the custom of baptizing infants for forgiveness of sin. He answers[d], 'that the custom of baptizing 'infants did not begin before the third century after 'Christ's birth; that in the first two there appear 'no footsteps of it.'

Whether that be true or no, will be partly judged by what I have here produced. It is best for any one that cannot prove what he says, to affirm it dictator-like.

1578. V. It is doubtful in which of the two forementioned sorts, of those that have thought the practice of infant-baptism to have been, either not from the beginning, or not universal, one is to place Rigaltius[e]. He, in his annotations ou those places of St. Cyprian, which I recited in the former part of this work[f], seems willing to have it believed, that in the apostles' time there was no pædobaptism; but not willing to speak this plainly.

His discourse of this matter from texts of scripture is too large to repeat here: he uses no arguments but those that are common, and have their answers as common.

[d] §. 56.

[e] [Nicolaus Rigaltius published an edition of St. Cyprian's works at Paris, in 1648, folio. His notes were retained in the subsequent ones, of Priorius, Paris, 1666, and bishop Fell, Oxford, 1682. They are noticed, but not given at length, in the Benedictine edition, fol. Paris, 1726.]

[f] Part i. ch. 6. §. 1, and 11.

CHAP. II. Year after the apostles.

The zealous bishop of Oxford, who since wrote annotations on the same Father's works, and who generally treats Rigaltius with that respect which his great learning deserves; yet on this account spares not to say[i], 'that he has in this matter acted 'the part, not of an annotator on St. Cyprian, but a 'prevaricator with him:' and that 'what he says here, 'is no other sort of stuff than what some fanatic 'of the anabaptist crew would have said.'

Indeed it is a wonder, that since he knew that which he would insinuate (that there was no baptism of infants in the apostles' time) to be contrary to the sentiments of all the learned men in the world; he should so take it for granted on the ordinary pretences, without taking notice of what they say in answer. And that he should conclude, that in the next century of years, which passed from the apostles' to Tertullian's time, it was held and practised variously or indifferently; only because Tertullian spake against what was then done about it: when almost all learned men do take that opposition of his for no evidence that the delay of infants' baptism, or virgins' baptism, or widows' baptism, was then practised by any body, (neither does Tertullian pretend it was,) but only for an evidence that Tertullian was a man of a singular opinion in this, as well as in forty other things that were then practised or taught. Neither can Tertullian himself be well understood to have advised that delay, but only when there is no danger of death[k], which in the case of infants is very seldom.

This annotator is also partial in the account he

[i] [See Fell's edition, part i. p. 125; and part ii. p. 159.]

[k] See the place, part i. chap. 4. §. 5, 7.

gives of the writers of this century: in that he mentions Tertullian, who wrote at the latter end of it, and gives his opinion against the ordinary practice of paedobaptism; without taking any notice of Irenæus, who wrote in the middle of it, and speaks of infants, as being ordinarily baptized, or regenerated; or of Origen, who was contemporary with Tertullian, and wrote but a little after him; and who having travelled in all the noted churches then in the world, speaks of their baptism both as being generally practised, and also appointed by the apostles. CHAP. II. Year after the apostles. 100. 67. 110.

It is plain that the place on which he there comments, does shew that the baptism of infants was then looked on as undoubted, and (as he would represent) that 'the doubt about it was then taken 150. 'away,' or solved. For Fidus, who doubted whether they might be baptized before the eighth day, and St. Cyprian and his fellow bishops, who resolved that doubt, had both of them taken it for undoubted, that they are to be baptized in infancy[l].

This partiality shewn by him for the antipaedobaptists' side, makes one have the less opinion of his fidelity in that alteration which he has made in their favour, in the text of Tertullian's book of baptism, in his edition thereof; which does much alter the sense, and of which I gave an account when I recited the place[m]. I, though I knew it was otherwise in Pamelius' edition, and that Pamelius testifies his edition to agree with Gaigneus' (who first published this book of Tertullian) in that place; yet was of opinion that so learned a man would not

[l] See the place, part i. chap. 6. §. 1, &c.

[m] Part i. chap. 4. §. 8.

CHAP. II. Year after the apostles.

have altered the words without some good authority from the manuscripts; and I set them down accordingly. But since he quotes no manuscripts to confirm that alteration; and besides, shews himself otherwise to have such a bias: I do now think it were proper for learned men to examine better how much credit is to be given to that amendment, which makes Tertullian advise the delay of baptism *absolutely*, which in the first, and some following editions, was expressed, *except in case of necessity.* P.S. And I find already that Mr. Stennet, a learned antipædobaptist, is convinced that no credit is to be given to it. For he quotes the place as it stood in the former editions, 'Quid enim necesse est, si non 'tam necesse, sponsores,' &c. 'For what need is 'there, except in case of necessity, that godfathers,' &c. in his Answer to Mr. Russen, chap. iv. p. 76.

VI. There were no need of mentioning bishop Taylor among these, were it not for some importunate antipædobaptists, who cite him in this controversy against his will. He, in the times of the rebellion in England, (when the parliamentarians, though divided among themselves into several sects, did all join in oppressing those of the church of England,) wrote a treatise called, *The Liberty of Prophesying:* in which he pleaded that they, how earnest soever they were in maintaining the truth of their opinions, yet ought to grant a toleration to those that differed from them; because many other opinions had at least a probability, such as might well sway the conscience of a great many honest inquirers after truth.

And among the rest he undertook[n] to shew how

[n] Sect. 17, 18.

much might be said for two sorts of dissenters, the antipædobaptists and the papists: saying thus; 'These two are the most troublesome and most 'disliked: and by an account made of these we 'may make judgment what may be done towards 'others, whose errors are not apprehended of so 'great malignity.' CHAP. Year after the apostles.

And in his plea for the antipædobaptists, though he there declares himself well satisfied with the principles of pædobaptism, of which he gives a summary account, and says, that he 'takes the other 'opinion to be an error;' yet under pretence of reciting what may be said for that error, he draws up so elaborate a system of arguments against infant-baptism, and sets them forth to the utmost, by such advantage of style, that he is judged to have said more for the antipædobaptists than they were ever before able to say for themselves. And Dr. Hammond says, 'It is the most diligent collection, 'and the most exact scheme of the arguments 'against infant-baptism, that he had ever met 'with[o]. And that he has therein in such manner 'represented the arguments for and against it, that 'the latter have seemed to many to be successful 'and victorious[p].'

It is generally supposed that he did this with a politic intention (commonly practised by those of the church of Rome) to divide the adversaries of the church of England among themselves; and to that end put arguments into the mouths of one sect, in order to puzzle the others. A sort of prevaricating in the things of God, which few protestants or sincere Christians will account justifiable on any

[o] Six Queries, Infant Baptism, §. 49. [p] Ibid. §. 139.

CHAP. II. account whatever. Therefore Dr. Hammond, who was too great a lover of sincerity to approve of such a method, quickly wrote an answer to this piece, solving each objection particularly[q].

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And afterward, bishop Taylor himself, having premised that he was sorry if any one had been so weak as to be misled by such mean objections, and that he counted it great charity and condescension in Dr. Hammond to bestow an answer on them, wrote also his own answers to his own objections, and inserted them in a later edition of the said treatise[r]; and in another treatise, called 'The Consi-'deration of the Church in baptizing the Children of 'Believers.' He does also, in his 'Great Exemplar,' and in his *Ductor Dubitantium*[s] expressly declare his opinion, and affirm, that 'it is necessary that 'infants be baptized;' and reckons 'infant-baptism, 'and the keeping of the Lord's day, among those 'things that are confirmed by this rule.'

Whatsoever the catholic church has kept in all ages by-gone, may rightly be believed to have descended from the apostles.

'Which,' he says, 'is a good rule for rituals, '[among which he reckons baptism,] though not 'for matter of doctrine.' The reason of which distinction he had given before[t]. 'Because there is 'no doctrine so delivered but what is in scripture:

[q] [See his Letter of resolution to Six Queries; Qu. 4. sect. 49, to the end.—Hammond's Works, vol. i.]

[r] [Viz. all which follows the clause marked 33 in the folio editions; in some modern ones this portion is placed by itself, as an appendix.]

[s] Book ii. chap. 3. rule 14: §. 41: also rule 18. §. 1.

[t] See rule 14. §. 38 to 44.

'indeed some practices and rituals are. Because the 'public exercises and usages of the church being 'united and notorious, public and acted, might 'make the rule evident as the light.' CHAP. II. Year after the apostles.

Notwithstanding all which, it is a common thing with the antipædobaptists to cite the passages in that treatise of the 'Liberty of Prophesying' that make for them, as if they had been spoken by the author from his own judgment, and had never been answered by him.

There is not much said either in the objections or answers about this point of antiquity: they being chiefly taken from scripture. What he has is mostly from Grotius.

He objects[u] that 'all arguments from tradition 'are much decried by protestants in other cases, 'and therefore ought not to be made use of in 'this.'

To which Dr. Hammond and he answer, that 'protestants did never renounce the arguments 'from tradition in general: but, on the contrary, 'whatever appears to be the tradition of the apo- 'stles, or to be the practice of the Christians in 'those first times, they willingly own. And that what 'they decry, is either the traditions of later times, 'or else the false pretences to the elder ones.'

He had objected likewise, that there is but a 110. weak proof of any such tradition, and that 'whereas 'Origen says, that the apostles gave order to the 'churches that they should baptize their infants, 'and St. Austin says the same; yet that probably 'St. Austin took this from Origen's writings: and 'so it depends on Origen's single testimony.' 290.

[u] Liberty of Prophesying, sect. 18. §. 25.

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At which rate of arguing, if forty had said it, one might pretend that probably thirty-nine of them had it from the first; and so there were but one single evidence.

But he, as well as Dr. Hammond, answers, that
67. Irenæus, and the author of the Questions in the name of Justin Martyr, and abundance of others, '(though they do not speak expressly of the apo-'stles appointing it, yet,) do confirm it to have been 'the practice in those times.' To which I have
274. added a testimony of St. Ambrose[z], that speaks expressly of the apostles' times.

The bishop also knew, or might have known, that St. Austin was no reader of Origen's works.

He objected, moreover, that pædobaptism was first established by canon of the Milevitan council, (as he calls it; meaning that canon of the council of Carthage, which I recited, part i. ch. 19. §. 37,) in
318. the year of Christ, 418. So he dates it.

But both he and Hammond answer that, to this effect: that since it was the known custom of the primitive church, to make canons only about points that had been questioned by heretics; it is a great proof that this had never been questioned, (as St. Austin concludes it was from the beginning, because 'not instituted by councils,') for none can deny that it was a common practice long before.

And I think I have shewed it also to be a mistake to think that it was then decreed that infants should be baptized; whereas the decree was, that they are in a true meaning baptized for 'forgive-'ness of original sin,' (which the Pelagians denied; but their baptism they denied not,) and that they

[z] Part i. ch. 13. §. 1.

may be baptized before the eighth day, when new-born; of which some in Africa doubted[y]. CHAP. Year of the apostles.

He had also, in his plea for the antipædobaptists, cited the canon of the Neocæsarean council, which I recited part i. ch. 8. §. 1. and had drawn from it reasons against infant-baptism, such as are there rehearsed. 314.

And the answer which he and Dr. Hammond make, is in substance the same that is there also given.

Yet after all this, this bishop is to be reckoned among the second sort, that I mentioned, of those that have denied the practice of infant-baptism to have been general or universal in the primitive times; as appears by his later works, which I shall have occasion to cite when I speak of that second sort of men.

VII. It is tedious to spend time in speaking of Dr. Barlow, the late bishop of Lincoln. What he had said on this subject, (of which the antipædobaptists do so serve themselves, that one shall see his name brought in twenty times by some one of their writers,) he himself fairly recanted.

He had, in those hopeful times that were in England, in the year 1656, wrote a letter to Mr. Tombes, wherein he had said thus: 'I do believe pædobap- 1556.
'tism (how, or by whom, I know not) came into the 'world in the second century; and in the third and 'fourth began to be practised (though not gene- 'rally) and defended as lawful from the text grossly 'misunderstood, John iii. 5. Upon the like gross 'mistake of John vi. 53. they did for many centu- 'ries, both in the Greek and Latin church, commu-

[y] See the Canon, Part i. ch. 19. §. 37.

CHAP. II. 'nicate infants, and give them the Lord's Supper.
Year after the apostles. 'And I do confess they might do both as well as 'either.'

1573. This letter being handed among the antipædobaptists came afterward to be printed[z], to the said doctor's great discredit, who was now Margaret professor in the university of Oxford, and accounted a very learned man.

1575. Therefore in the year 1675, he wrote a letter to Mr. Wills with consent that it should be published, in which he says thus: 'I acknowledge that such 'words as are cited by Mr. Danvers (and such 'others, spoke and writ then, with more confidence 'than judgment or discretion) are in that letter; 'which had been *secret still*, if some had not be-'trayed that trust which was reposed in them. 'Lastly, it is to be considered, that that letter was 'writ about twenty years ago, (when I talked more, 'and understood less,) and yet whatever doubts or 'objections I had then against infant-baptism, I 'never thought them so considerable as to warrant 'any division, or schismatical disturbance of the 'peace of my mother the church of England. And 'therefore I did then, and since, and (when I have a 'just call, God willing) ever shall, baptize infants[a].'

VIII. I am unwilling to name Bilius[b] among

[z] In Danvers' Treatise of Baptism, cent. 4. [Part i. chap. 7. p. 63.]

[a] Wills' Infant Baptism farther vindicated, p. 88. 8vo. 1675.

[b] [Jacques de Billi, a learned French abbot of the sixteenth century, distinguished himself by a Latin version of the works of Gregory Nazianzen, which was published under his own eye in 1569, again in 1570, 1583, &c. and is retained in Morell's edition, Paris 1609, and 1630.

The

these: because I believe that was not his steady opinion, which may seem to be the most obvious sense of an expression of his in his commentary on the nineteenth oration of Gregory Nazianzen; where there is an account of the baptism of the said Gregory's father, which was after his marriage. And Bilius there speaking of the danger of sinning after baptism, says; 'I mention this, because in 'those times persons came later to baptism than 'nowadays; when by a commendable custom they 'are baptized in infancy, lest delay should bring 'danger with it.' CHAP. Year of the apostles.

What a word did that learned abbot suffer to escape the hedge of his lips? Was not that Gregory the Father a heathen till that time, and his parents before him? I believe if one were to look over Bilius' writings, one should find that this was not his settled opinion. But I have not time to do that at present.

Since the first edition of this book, one Antony van Dale[c], a Dutch Minnist or antipædobaptist, has written a tract called, *The History of Baptisms.* Wherein he has one chapter against infant-baptism: and in that [at p. 375] a quotation of a letter of Salmasius, written to Justus Pacius under the name of Simplicius Verinus. Where Salmasius says; 'In 'the first two centuries none received baptism, but 'such as being instructed in the faith, and made 'acquainted with the doctrine of Christ, could de- 'clare their belief of it; because of those words,

The note, or scholion, referred to in the text, may be found at p. 129. of the edition of 1570. N°. 14.]

[c] [See Antonii Van Dale dissertatio super Aristea de lxx. Interpretibus: additur Historia Baptismorum. 4to. Amstel. 1705.]

CHAP. II. Year after the apostles.

'*He that believeth and is baptized:* so that believing is to be the first. Thence was the order of 'catechumens in the church. There was then also 'a constant custom, that to those catechumens, pre-'sently after their baptism, the eucharist should be 'given. Afterward there came in an opinion, that 'none could be saved that was not baptized. And 'so there grew a custom of giving baptism to in-'fants. And because the adult catechumens, as 'soon as they were baptized, had the eucharist 'given them, without any space of time passing 'between; it was, after that infant-baptism was 'brought in, ordered that this should be done also 'with infants.'

Having not any copy of Salmasius' letters, I can judge nothing of the authenticalness[d] of this quotation; nor can give any guess (if Salmasius did write such a letter) what age he might be of when he wrote it, or whether he published it himself. I know that many learned men have suffered much in their memory by having all their letters and posthumous pieces printed after their death: some

[d] [The letter alluded to in the text was published under the following title, 'De transubstantiatione liber, Simplicio Verino 'Auctore. Ad Justum Pacium contra H. Grotium. Hagiopoli, '1646.' 8vo. Salmasius was then fifty-eight years of age, having been born in 1588. The passage quoted occurs at p. 494, and is fairly given by Van Dale.

It should be remarked, that there are two distinct works by Salmasius, both published under the same feigned name, both in the same year, both directed against Grotius, and both addressed 'ad Justum Pacium:' but the earlier of the two calls itself *epistola*, and the latter *liber:* (in this particular Van Dale has mistaken, and might lead an inquirer astray:) and that it is the *second* work which Dr. Wall here recites.]

whereof were such, as being written in their youth, they themselves would have been ashamed of afterward, and would, upon better information and reading, have recanted: an instance whereof I gave just now, in one that in his youth wrote a letter so like this, that one may seem to be drawn from the other. And I have also known several persons who have owned, that before their reading the ancient books, they have been inclined to such an opinion against the antiquity of infant-baptism, as is expressed in these two letters; but afterward found their own mistake. And this is the more probable in the case of Salmasius, for that he never did in his conversation or books (that I ever heard of) shew any inclination to antipædobaptism. But if this were his steady opinion concerning the beginning of pædobaptism; then we must add him to those three or four men that have said this without giving any proof from antiquity of their saying. CHAP. II. Year after the apostles.

I find this very passage quoted by Mr. Stennet [Answer to Russen, p. 86] as from *Suicerus' Thesaurus, sub voce* Σύναξις*. Who it seems took it from Salmasius.

IX. There is, as I said, another sort of learned men, who, though they think with the rest of the world, that infant-baptism was ever practised in the church of Christ, yet think that it was not general or universal; but that in the elder times some Christian parents baptized their children in infancy, and others not: and that it was counted indifferent.

I take Grotius to be the author of this opinion. For though some before him did observe that many

* [See col. 1136, tom. ii. edit. 1728.]

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persons of note in the primitive times were baptized at man's age, some of whom they took to be born of Christian parents, (which last, whether they did not take to be so without due examination, shall be discoursed afterward,) yet they supposed them to be not enough to make any considerable exception to the general rule and practice of the church.

So though Dr. Field, in his treatise *Of the Church*[f], do say, that 'besides those who were converted from paganism, many that were born of 'Christian parents, put off their baptism a long 'time:' an instance of which he makes St. Ambrose: yet these (whom he calls many) he takes to be so few in comparison, that he still speaks of the other as a 'continued practice' or tradition. As where he treats purposely of traditions[g], he says:

'The fourth kind of tradition is the *continued* '*practice* of such things, as neither are contained 'in the scripture expressly, nor the example of 'such practice expressly there delivered; though 'the grounds, reasons, and causes of the necessity 'of such practice be there contained; and the benefit 'or good that followeth of it. Of this sort is the 'baptism of infants,' &c.

But Grotius from this and some other arguments frames an hypothesis of the indifferency (*libertas* he calls it) of the ancient church in this matter[h]. And though Rivet do suppose that Grotius was a convert of cardinal Perron in this point; for the said cardinal in his *Reply to King James* had (as Rivet[i] observes) 'pleaded the cause of the anabap-

[f] Page 719. [g] Lib. iv. cap. 2c. [h] Annot. in Matt. xix. 14.

[i] Apology. [8vo. Lugd. Bat. 1643. and in vol. iii. of Riveti Opera Theologica, p. 1076.]

'tists with all his might: and I see,' says Rivet, 'that he has brought over Hugo Grotius:'—Yet I count it proper to reckon Grotius as the author, because what the Cardinal had said was very probably not from his real opinion, but from a design to embroil the protestants, by giving strength to the schism of the antipædobaptists, who then began to grow rife in Holland and other places. A design which the papists have since earnestly promoted; industriously putting it into their books, that infant-baptism cannot be proved from scripture, but only from the practice of the church: and as some of them will have it, not from any evidence of the practice of the ancient church neither, but only from the authority of the present church. CHAP. II. Year after the apostles.

I am not willing to think that Grotius had so ill a design. But he being naturally inclined to trim all controversies in religion that came in his way, and using that vast stock of learning which he had (as princes that would hold the balance do their power) to help the weakest side, he maintains (not that there was ever any church or any time in which infant-baptism was not used, but) that in the Greek churches, many 'persons, from the beginning 'to this day, do observe the custom of delaying the 'baptism of their infants till they are able to make 'confession of their own faith [i].'

The mistake that he is here guilty of in reference to the modern practice of the Greek churches, in which (as all men are now sure) there neither is, nor lately has been, any such thing known as the delay of infants' baptism, (especially if he mean the Greek churches properly so called; for what

[i] Annot. in Matt. xix. 14.

CHAP. II. dispute is raised concerning the Georgian Christians I do mention hereafter [k],) makes one take less notice of what he affirms concerning the ancient practice thereof. As he produces no proof at all of what he says of the late times, so what he urges for this indifferency of the elder times consists in these particulars.

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214. He cites the canon of the council of Neocæsarea, mentioned above [l], and expounds it to make against infant-baptism.

But this, if it proves any thing, proves too much: not a liberty, but an unlawfulness of infant-baptism
300. in the opinion of those seventeen bishops. He himself says, that 'it is plain that in St. Austin's time 'pædobaptism was received in all churches; because 'the Pelagians being pressed with that as an argu-'ment never could deny it.' And was it not obvious likewise for him to observe, that the Pelagians being pressed with this argument, 'That no Chris-'tian ever was against pædobaptism,' could not deny it, but expressly granted it [m]? And could Pelagius and St. Austin too have forgot, that a council
214. of seventeen bishops had determined against it but eighty years before, if they or any body else had at that time gathered any such meaning out of their words? The pædobaptists say, that this meaning lay hid for 1300 years after the men were dead, till he picked it out. But of this, and of the use that he makes of the words of Balsamon and Zonaras thereupon, was discoursed before [n].

He observes also, that 'in the councils one shall 'find no earlier mention of pædobaptism than in

[k] Ch. 8. §. 2.
[l] Part i. ch. 8. §. 1.
[m] See part i. ch. 19. §. 30.
[n] Part i. ch. 8. §. 6, 7.

'the council of Carthage.' From whence he would infer, that 'it did not universally obtain, but was 'more frequent in Africa than any where else.' CHAP. II. Year after the apostles. 318.

And St. Austin, as was above cited [o], proves that it must have been instituted by the apostles; because it did and ever had universally obtained, and yet was not instituted by any council. Mentioned it was by a council under St. Cyprian [p], which did not enact it, but take it for granted.

I mentioned before [q] his other argument, which is 150. nothing else but the perverting of the sense of a few words of Gregory Nazianzen, (where he, speaking of several sorts of persons that die without baptism, names among the rest 'those that are not 'baptized διὰ νηπιότητα, by reason of infancy,') as if Nazianzen had thereby intimated his opinion to be, that infancy did incapacitate one for baptism. Whereas if the reader please to turn back to part 1. ch. 11. §. 6. where I have cited the place at large, he will see that Nazianzen there reckons 'those 'who are not baptized [or have missed of baptism] 'by reason of their infancy,' among those whose own fault it is not, that they are not baptized; and therefore their punishment shall be less in the world to come.

The most material thing that he brings, is the instance of Gregory Nazianzen and St. Chrysostom, born, as he takes it, of Christian parents, and yet not baptized till of age. Which shall be discussed in the next chapter.

He concludes, 'that all that he has brought is 'of no force to prove that infant-baptism should be

[o] Part i. ch. 15. sect. 4. §. 3. [p] Cypriani Epist. ad Fidum.
[q] Part i. ch. 11. §. 9.

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'denied; but only to shew *libertatem, vetustatem,* '*et consuetudinis differentiam*, the liberty, antiquity, 'and difference of the custom.'

X. I said before, that bishop Taylor is to be reckoned in this rank; if one knows where to reckon him, or can reconcile what I have quoted from him, with that which I am going to quote.

He, in his 'Dissuasive from Popery,' one of his latest works, being busy in defending the protestant doctrine against the papists, who plead the necessity of tradition to prove infant-baptism; and having answered, that it is proved enough from scripture as to the lawfulness of it, goes on to shew that tradition does not do so much service in the matter; for that it delivers it to us as the custom of 'some Christians in all times, but not of all.' His words are these:

'At the first they did, or they did not, according 'as they pleased; for there is no pretence of tradi-'tion, that the church in all ages did baptize all the 'infants of Christian parents. It is more certain 'that they did not do it always, than that they did 'it in the first age. St. Ambrose, St. Hierome, and 'St. Austin, were born of Christian parents, and 'yet not baptized until the full age of a man, and 'more[r].'

And a little after, 'That it was the custom so to 'do in some churches, and at some times, is without 'all question; but that there is a tradition from the 'apostles so to do, relies but upon two witnesses, 110. 296. 'Origen and St. Austin: and the latter having re-'ceived it from the former, it relies wholly upon

[r] Part ii. lib. i. sect. 3. p. 117. [edit. 4to. Lond. 1667: which was the earliest impression of the second part of this work.]

'his single testimony; which is but a pitiful argu- CHAP. II.
'ment to prove a tradition apostolical. He is the Year after
'first that spoke it: but Tertullian, that was before the apostles.
'him, seems to speak against it; which he would 100.
'not have done, if it had been a tradition apo-
'stolical. And that it was not so, is but too cer-
'tain, if there be any truth in the words of *Ludo-* 1422.
'*ricus Vives*[s].' And then he recites what was above cited out of *Lud. Vives*[t].

The most of this is what he said before[u], and on which I did before make what remarks are necessary: as I shall do in the next chapter, on what he says of Ambrose, Hierome, Austin, born of Christian parents, and yet not baptized in infancy. From the whole, one may here see some of the workings of that singular fancy that this bishop had about original sin. I forgot when I saw his 'Dissuasive from Popery,' to look at the date of the edition of it, and to see if it were not a posthumous one[x]: which I suspect, because what he says in it of this indifferency, is contrary to what I quoted before (§. 6.) out of his 'Great Exemplar' and '*Ductor Dubitantium*;' and is more agreeable to what he had said in his youth, but afterward recanted.

XI. Mr. Thorndyke also, in the third book of his 'Epilogue[y],' (which is of the 'Laws of the

[s] Page 118. [t] See §. 3. [u] See §. 6.

[x] [Bishop Taylor died in 1667. The edition referred to was published in that year, but after the bishop's death.]

[y] [An Epilogue to the Tragedy of the Church of England; being a necessary consideration and brief resolution of the chief controversies in Religion that divide the Western Church: occasioned by the present calamity of the Church of England. In three books: by Herbert Thorndyke, folio. London, 1659.]

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'Church,') yields, that the eastern church, (though they held infant-baptism necessary in case of the danger of death,) yet did sometimes defer it when there was no such danger. But that the western church enjoined it, as the present church does, to be given presently.

He, as well as Grotius, Taylor, &c., seems to be moved to this concession by the instances of Nazianzen, Nectarius, &c., baptized at man's age; of which I shall speak in the next chapter, and shew the most of them to be mistakes.

XII. Monsieur Daillé has also something to this purpose. He says[z], 'In ancient times they often 'deferred the baptizing both of infants and of 'other people; as appears by the history of the 'emperors, Constantine the Great, of Constantius, 'of Theodosius, of Valentinian, and Gratian, out of 'St. Ambrose: and also by the orations and homilies 'of Gregory Nazianzen[a], and also of St. Basil[b], on 'this subject. And some of the Fathers too have 'been of opinion that it is fit it should be deferred, 'as namely, Tertullian, as we have formerly noted 'out of him.'

I shall have occasion, in the next chapter, to discourse concerning those instances of the emperors. And whereas he speaks of the delay of the baptism of infants and other people, it is fit for the reader to observe, that the orations which he cites, are indeed a proof that many grown people converted did put off their baptism a long time; because those

[z] De Usu Patrum, lib. ii. c. 6. [p. 329, edit. Genev. 1656.]

[a] Orat. 40.

[b] Εἰς βαπτισμὸν προτρεπτικὴ. [Op. tom. ii. p. 113. edit. Benedict.]

orations or sermons are made on purpose to convince people of their sin and danger in so doing. But there is nothing in them that gives any evidence, that those who were once baptized themselves, did ever delay the baptizing of their children: save that in one of them Gregory Nazianzen gives his opinion, that in case the children are in good health, and there be no fear of their death, one may do well to defer their baptism till they be about three years old; but otherwise, to baptize them out of hand. The place I have set down at large, part 1. ch. 11. §. 7. CHAP. II. Year after the apostles.

XIII. Mr. Baxter also, who has shewn a great deal of zeal, and spent a great deal of pains in maintaining the cause of pædobaptism, yet when he is in a complying humour, allows thus much: 'That in the days of Tertullian, Nazianzen, and 'Augustine, men had liberty to be baptized, or to 'bring their children, when, and at what age they 'pleased; and none were forced to go against their 'consciences.' And that 'he knows not that our 'rule or religion is changed: or that we are grown 'any wiser or better than they[c].'

The days of Tertullian and Nazianzen are pitched on, I suppose, because of their sayings, which have been mentioned. The days of Austin have no reason to be brought in here; but only because Mr. Baxter thought that his parents were Christians, (a mistake common to him with many others,) and that, they not baptizing him in infancy, it was probable that many other Christians omitted it likewise.

The same thing, as I hear, is maintained by those

[c] Defence of the Principles of Love, p. 7. 8vo. 1671.

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Remonstrants that are authors of *Censura Censuræ*[d], in their 23rd chapter.

XIV. Since the writing of the rest, I find that Garnier the Jesuit is, or would seem to be, of this opinion; by what he says in his notes upon a sermon of Nestorius, published with Mercator's works: 'In those old times baptism was not given pre-'sently after the birth, as it is now: but was many 'times deferred a great while; not only by the 'adults, (who came to it at their own time,) but 'also by the parents of infants, till they were 'grown up[e].'

This race of men at first pretended to no more than this; that infant-baptism cannot be proved from scripture, without having recourse to the proof that is taken from the practice of the ancient church. And this they did, that they might force the protestants to own the traditions of the ancient church to be necessary in determining points of religion; for that without them the protestants could not defend their cause against the antipædobaptists. But now that the protestants have largely shewn that that recourse to the traditions of the ancient church does turn the scale on the protestants' side against the papists: and that they find it necessary for their cause to decry both scripture the traditions of the ancient church, as being

alluded to, but incorrectly named by Dr. Wall, religio pro Confessione sive Declaratione Senqui in foederato Belgio vocantur Remonstrantes, arum quatuor professorum Leidensium.' 4to. (sine The passage referred to occurs at p. 252, 254, and nlacement of the text.]

[e] edit. 1673

both of them together insufficient; and that we must throw ourselves on the authority of the present church, i. e. the church of Rome: they do, in order to force this down, set their wits to maintain that infant-baptism cannot be proved, neither from scripture, nor from the primitive practice, but only by the infallibility of the present church. CHAP. Year of the apostles.

But, as such subtle men do sometimes forget themselves, especially if they be voluminous authors: this same Jesuit, in his notes on another book, says, 'When the apostle writes to the Romans, 'of whom several had been baptized in infancy, and 'yet says, *So many of us as have been baptized into 'Christ Jesus, have been baptized into his death*, &c., 'under those general words he comprehends those 'that were baptized before the use of reason[f].' By making some that were grown men at the time of this epistle, viz. twenty-three years after Christ's death, to have been baptized at Rome in their infancy, he supposes infant-baptism there practised as soon as the gospel can be reckoned to have been preached there, and perhaps (if we compute the times) sooner.

Mr. Danvers, book i. ch. 7[g], produces one Boemus, who should say, that in the Christian church, and

[f] Notes on the 9th chapter of Mercator's Subnotations, p. 63. part i. edit. 1673.

[g] [Cent. xii. p. 73. edit. 1674. The author produced is Joannes Boemus Aubanus, calling himself 'Sacerdos Teutonicæ 'militiæ devotus,' who published a work entitled, 'Omnium 'gentium Mores, Leges, et Ritus, ex multis clarissimis rerum 'scriptoribus collecti.' folio, Augustæ Vindel. 1520: (reprinted in 1537, again in 1604.) The passage given (but not fairly) by Danvers occurs at chapter 12 of the second book, fol. 37 in the edition of 1520.]

CHAP. II. Mr. Stennet, 'Answer to Russen,' p. 85, one Macaire, who should say, that in the church of Alexandria, no infants were in the first ages baptized. It is the unhappiness of vulgar readers, that if they see a strange name quoted, they think it a great authority: but it is a very disingenuous thing to take advantage of this their weakness. It is like putting off bad wares upon ignorant chapmen. For Boemus, I could never hear who he was, nor when he lived. (P. S. I find, since the first edition, that he is a late author of no note or regard for learning.) Macaire (as Mr. Stennet says) was bishop of Memphis in Egypt[h], anno 756. But we have no account from him, how or when this new-found book of his came to light, or how it appears to be genuine. This is certain, that at that time there was no such place as Memphis; and that the Saracens had above a hundred years before that overrun all Egypt, whose custom was to destroy all Christian books and learning. And can we think that this unknown man, in such a time of ignorance, is able to tell us any news of the primitive practice, which Origen (who lived in Alexandria five or six hundred years before that) and the other Fathers who had a clear light of history to their own times, had never heard of? Such authors serve only to fill up a crowd of names, and to put an abuse upon a plain honest reader: the prevention of which is my only excuse for mentioning these, who are by no means to be reckoned among learned men.

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[h] [And secretary to Cosmus III. the 58th patriarch of Alexandria: Mr. Stennet quotes from Vansleb's 'Histoire de l'Eglise d'Alexandrie,' part i. c. 23.]

There is also a passage in the former English editions of Camden's 'Britannia,' which, if every reader knew who is the author of it, would for the same reason have no need of being mentioned here. But many readers take all that is there put into the text, for Camden's own: whereas Dr. Holland the translator has inserted abundance of his own additions. And, among the rest, he has in Cumberland interpolated among Camden's words, a fancy of his own against the antiquity of infant-baptism. Camden is there speaking of the font at Bridekirk in that county, 'Which is,' he says, 'a large open 'vessel of greenish stone, with several little images 'curiously engraven on it;' having also an inscription which he could not read. He guesses it to have been made originally for a font, (to which use it is still employed,) and (to account for the images engraven on it) he says, 'We read that the fonts 'were anciently adorned with the pictures of holy 'men, whose lives were proposed as a pattern to 'such as were baptized:' for which he quotes in the margin Paulinus. Then follows in the text this addition of Dr. Holland's. 'For in the first plantation 'of Christianity amongst the Gentiles, such only as 'were of full age, after they were instructed in the 'principles of the Christian religion, were admitted 'to baptism.'

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Camden's words, quoted from Paulinus, do intimate no more than this; that there were in ancient times many baptisms of adult persons; but that such only were admitted, is said only by Dr. Holland, who seems to have concluded it too hastily from what Camden quoted.

But it appears since by a more accurate view

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taken by the present bishop of Carlisle[i] of the inscription, and of those which Camden calls images on the said font-stone, that the contrary to what Dr. Holland thought is proved from them. For he, in a letter to sir William Dugdale, (printed in the additions to the last edition of that book,) explains both the inscription and the images: by which latter he says, 'We have there fairly represented 'a person in a long sacerdotal habit, dipping a child 'into the water; and a dove (the emblem, no doubt, 'of the Holy Ghost) hovering over the infant,' &c.

XV. Of the professed antipædobaptists, (for all that I have yet mentioned were pædobaptists, notwithstanding some of their sayings concerning the ancient use,) Mr. Tombes was a man of the best parts in our nation, and perhaps in any; but his talent did not lie much in ancient history or reading. All that I have seen of his of this nature has been considered, in speaking of the authors to whom he refers[k].

Mr. Danvers has heaped together a vast rhapsody of quotations[l]; but having seldom consulted the authors themselves, but taken them at second hand, and out of any sort of writers, such as he calls by the names of Twisk[m], Frank[n], &c., and a book called

[i] [Dr. W. Nicholson. See above, at vol. i. chap. 3. §. 9. p. 86. and the note there.]

[k] Part i. ch. 4. §. 8. ch. 5. §. 7. ch. 6. §. 1, 2, &c. ch. 21. §. 5, &c.

[l] Treatise of Baptism.

[m] [Mr. Danvers frequently cites as authority 'Twisk Chronic. 'p. &c.' What book that is, I have not yet been able to ascertain.]

[n] [Sebastian Frank, a fanatical author of the sixteenth century; who, among sundry strange and paradoxical works, published

Dutch Martyrology, &c., books of no kind of credit, he has for the most part strangely misrepresented them. CHAP. II. Year after the apostles.

He was publicly accused by Mr. Baxter[o], and Mr. Wills[p], for a wilful forger of quotations; and the book would tempt one to think so. But upon second thoughts, I hope it was partly his authors, and partly want of good heed or skill that misled him. Mr. Wills went so far as to put in an appeal to his own party against him, that they ought to renounce him: and he printed it. But he and they answered as well as they could, and made the best of a bad matter. And indeed Mr. Wills in that appeal (for want of books I suppose) made not his best advantage of the charge that might have been brought against him: for he instanced in some of his false quotations that were of the least consequence; omitting those of greater, and such as it had been impossible for him or them to reconcile: and also in some of them was mistaken himself.

Most of the rest of them do, as much as may be, avoid speaking of the practice of the primitive church, and do except against any argument brought from thence as a human authority. A method, which, if they be resolved to continue in their

a 'Chronicle, Annals, and History of the Bible,' first printed in 1531, and reprinted in 1536, 1538, 1543, 1585.]

o Confutation of the strange Forgeries of H. Danvers, [being the second part of his 'More Proofs of Infants,' &c. 8o. 1675.]

p [See 'Infant-baptism asserted and vindicated by Scripture 'and Antiquity; in answer to a treatise of baptism lately published by Mr. Henry Danvers: together with a full detection of 'his misrepresentations, &c. by Obed. Wills, M. A.' 8o. 1674. Also, 'Vindiciæ Vindiciarum,' &c. and 'An Appeal to the 'Baptists, against Mr. Danvers, &c. by the same.' 8o. 1675.]

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opinion, is much for their purpose; provided they meet with adversaries so weak as to let it so pass over.

XVI. I have produced all the modern learned men that I know of, that have thought that infant-baptism either was not from the beginning, or was not universal. And though I proposed to manage impartially, yet I hope no reader that is a pædobaptist will expect that I should do the like with those learned men that give their verdict for it. Instead of that, I must declare that all the rest that I have seen, that have occasion to speak of this matter, are of opinion, that the sayings of the Fathers are a sufficient evidence that it was always in use, and that as the general practice of the church of Christ.

Indeed they will many of them say thus: that there may perhaps be produced here and there a singular instance of a person, that did omit it through carelessness, or some accident, &c., and that Tertullian also is an instance of one man that advised the delay of it till the age of reason, in case there appeared no danger of death in the meantime: and that this is ordinary in all customs, however allowed and established, that some one in an age happens to speak or act against them: and that a few such straggling instances are not to be esteemed of force sufficient to weaken the authority of a general rule.

But it seems to me that the instances which the antipædobaptists give, of persons not baptized in infancy, though born of Christians, are not (if the matter of fact be true) so inconsiderable as this last plea would represent.

On the contrary, the persons they mention are so many, and such noted persons; that, (if they be all allowed,) it is an argument that leaving children unbaptized was no unusual, but a frequent and ordinary thing. For it is obvious to conclude, that if we can in so remote an age trace the practice of so many that did this; it is probable that a great many more, of whose birth and baptism we do not read, did the like. This I will own, that it seems to me the argument of greatest weight of any that is brought on the antipædobaptists' side in this dispute about antiquity. And I believe the reader has observed in the places I have last quoted, that it is that which has most prevailed, both with Strabo and Vives, to think it was once the general practice to leave infants unbaptized; and with Grotius, bishop Taylor, and the others, to think it was once counted indifferent. It deserves therefore not to be so slightly passed over; but if one had time and opportunity, to be thoroughly examined. CHAP. II. Year after the apostles.

The worst is, it is a business of a great deal of dust and tediousness, to search after the birth and parentage of so many men, (who, though they were conspicuous persons, yet many of them sprang from obscure originals,) and not to be well done by any who has not a good library at hand. I have in my reading taken some observations of this matter, which I shall communicate in the next chapter.

CHAP. III.

Of those who are said to have been born of Christian Parents, and yet not baptized till of Man's Age.

Sect. I. An account of the Persons, and state of their Case.

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I. THE instances of this that are commonly given, are the five emperors mentioned before by Mr. Daillé, viz. Constantine, Constantius, Gratian, Valentinian the Second, and Theodosius the First, and also four noted persons of the Greek church, viz. St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, Nectarius, and St. Chrysostom; and three of the Latin, St. Ambrose, St. Hierome, and St. Austin. Mr. Tombes mentions also Alypius and Adeodatus; one the friend, and the other the base son, of St. Austin: and both baptized at the same time with him.

Many of the pædobaptists make but weak answers to the argument that is drawn from the example of these men. They content themselves to say, that it was from some erroneous or corrupt principles, that many in those times thought fit to defer baptism a great while; and some till just before death: either that they might gain a longer time for their lusts, or because they thought that wilful sins committed after baptism could not be forgiven.

That many new converts did do this, is too plain; and is a thing grievously complained of by the preachers of those times: and the granting of it to be true does not at all affect the question in hand; which is not, whether adult persons did defer their own baptism: but whether such adult persons as were come to a full resolution of being Christians,

and were accordingly baptized themselves, did use to baptize their children in infancy or not. And to grant this latter, that they who were once baptized, did frequently use to let their children grow up without baptism, is to weaken, in great measure, the argument for infant-baptism that is drawn from the practice of these ancients. For if many did omit it, though upon erroneous grounds, the argument from the general practice is lost. CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

But some others have attempted a better answer, by shewing these instances, or some of them, to be mistakes: and that not all the persons mentioned were born of Christian parents; particularly Constantine and Austin have been excepted; as it was indeed easy to shew that those two ought to be. I shall make some particular search concerning each of them.

And the thing to be inquired concerning each of them, is;

1st, Whether his baptism were delayed till years of age. And if so, then,

2dly, Whether his parents were baptized Christians at the time of his birth. I say, baptized: because it was, as I said before, a very common thing for men in those times to be Christians in their intention, and in their conscience, i. e. they were convinced that that was the truth, and did resolve some time or other to be baptized into it; and yet did put this off from time to time, (as lukewarm men do nowadays their repentance, or their receiving the other sacrament,) knowing that baptism would engage them to a very strict course of life. And in this state many lived for a long time after their conversion: being in some sense Christians,

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i. e. they declared for that religion as the truth, they favoured it, they spoke for it, and in many things lived according to the rules of it; but for all that, were not as yet baptized, and so not accounted, in the phrase of those times, *fideles*, faithful, or brethren.

These men, while they were in this state, had oftentimes children born to them: and for such, it cannot be expected that they should bring their children to baptism, before they could find in their heart to be baptized themselves.

Also many such children, (being not baptized in their infancy, because their parents, though believers, were not yet baptized,) when they grew up, delayed their baptism, as their fathers had done; and so the mischief was continued. To these it often happened that they were instructed from their youth in the Christian religion, and yet not baptized. Of such St. Basil speaks in the place cited, part i. ch. 12. §. 3, 4.

Therefore you see I had reason to say that our inquiry is of infants born of parents that were at that time baptized Christians. And that is all that any pædobaptist would have to be done now, viz. that when any man is baptized himself, he should baptize his infant children.

Mr. Walker, endeavouring to shew that the instances brought by the antipædobaptists do them no service, because the ancients that delayed their children's baptism, did it not on the same principles that they do now, viz. of the unlawfulness of it; reckons up several reasons which moved some formerly to delay the baptism of their children: whereof the first is doubtless a plain and true one, viz.

'That some were as yet heathens themselves, when 'their children were born; and no marvel if they 'would not make their children Christians,' &c. 'And the same is the case of such as, though in 'heart and purpose Christians when their children 'were born, yet kept off from being baptized[q].' But he gives three reasons more, for which some that were baptized themselves might delay the baptizing of their children. CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

Any reader would, from what he says, conclude or suspect that many did this; at least that for these three reasons there were an account of three persons that had done it. But upon search, I believe, it will appear that there is no proof of so many as three; and that there is but one, viz. the father of Gregory Nazianzen, that makes an instance for this: and he not a plain one; for it depends on an obscure point in chronology, whether the son were born before his father's Christianity, or after?

In making this inquiry, I shall begin with emperors. Of whom it is proper to note, that whereas Mr. Daillé having, as I cited before, spoke of the frequent deferring the baptism of children and of other people, names the emperors; I suppose he means them among the *other* people, not among the children whose baptism was deferred. For all take him to be a man of another pitch of reading, than that he should think Constantine's father, for example, to have been a Christian. But the antipædobaptists take this from him; and they understand it so, and do very tenaciously maintain that it was so.

[q] Preface to Modest Plea for Infants' Baptism.

CHAP. III. §. 2. Of Constantine and Constantius his son; that they were not born of baptized parents.

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I. That Constantine was not baptized in infancy, but, on the contrary, in his old age, is a plain case. Eusebius, who was familiar with him, tells us[r] when and how it was, viz. that when he thought himself near death, he went to Nicomedia, and having assembled the bishops in the suburbs of that city, 'he spoke thus to them;'

337. 'This is the time which I have long expected, 'with earnest desire and prayers, to obtain the sal-'vation of God. It is time that I also should enjoy 'the badge of immortality; time that I should be 'made partaker of the seal of salvation. I purposed 'once to receive it in the waters of the river Jordan, 'in which our Saviour is recorded to have been 'baptized for our example. But God, who knows 'what is fittest for me, is pleased to grant it me 'now in this place. Therefore let me not be de-'layed: for if he that is Lord both of life and 'death, be pleased to continue my life in this world, 'and if he have determined that I shall any longer 'hold assemblies with the people of God, and shall 'once in the church communicate in the prayers 'together with the congregation; I will hencefor-'ward keep myself to such courses of life as become 'a servant of God.'

'This he spake. And they performing the cere-'monies, put in execution the Divine ordinance, and 'made him partaker of the unspeakable gift, re-'quiring of him the professions that are usual. And 'so Constantine, the only man of all the emperors 'that ever were, being regenerated by Christ's ordi-

[r] De Vita Constantini, lib. iv. c. 62.

'nance, was initiated; and being made partaker of CHAP. III.
'the Divine seal, he rejoiced in spirit, and was Year after the apostles.
'renewed and filled with the Divine light,' &c.

It is not material to mention the story which Nicephorus[s], a thousand years after, sets on foot; that he was baptized at Rome, by pope Sylvester, near the beginning of his reign: because it is all one to our purpose. Baronius[t] greedily embraces this latter account; I suppose, because it makes for the credit of the church of Rome, and helps to dress up the fable of the donation. But Perron, Petavius, and others forsake him in this, as being too improbable, since it was so lately invented.

II. But since both by the one and the other of these accounts he was not baptized in infancy; we must inquire of the religion of his parents; and first of his father Constantius Chlorus.

To think that Constantine, whose name all people, both learned and unlearned, remember by the token that he was the first Christian emperor, (at least of his race,) should have a Christian emperor to his father, does appear so great and so palpable a blunder; that any one would pass a severe censure on it, were it not that the learned Camden has let drop an expression sounding that way. He having occasion, in his account of the city of York, to speak of Constantius, the father of Constantine, calls him 'an excellent emperor, endowed with all 'moral and Christian virtues,——after his death 'deified, as appears by the old coins[u].'

[s] Hist. Eccl. lib. vii. c. 33. [t] Ad annum 324.

[u] [Camden's Britannia, by Gibson, p. 880, edit. 1722.—Vol. ii. p. 99. edit. 1772.—Compare Gough's edition, fol. 1789, vol. iii. p. 10.]

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The latter part of this sentence does not suffer one to think that Camden did in the former part of it mean that Constantius was really a Christian, (but only that he favoured the Christians, and had himself virtues something like those of a good Christian;) for Christian emperors were not often deified by the heathens. And accordingly, when Fuller[x] had, in his 'Church History,' at the year 305, reflected on this saying of Camden, as 'going 'too far;' since Constantius was no otherwise a Christian than by that rule, 'He that is not against 'us, is on our side:' Heylin[y] in his 'Animadver- 'sions' on that book, though he rebuked Fuller, as being too tart upon so great a man as Camden, yet grants the thing, viz. that Constantius was not a thoroughpaced Christian.

What Camden spoke, he spoke only by the by. But some antipædobaptists do go about seriously to justify this, and make an argument of it for their tenet. And if only Danvers had done so, I should not have taken any notice of it: for he is used to such arguments. But Mr. Stennet also has not shewn the candour to throw away such a false prop to their cause: but reckons Constantine among those whose 'not submitting to this ordinance till they 'were adult, though born of Christian parents,

[x] ['The Church History of Britain,' fol. Lond. 1655. Book i. p. 20.]

[y] [See 'Examen Historicum, or a discovery and examination 'of the mistakes, falsities, and defects in some modern histo- 'ries.' (by P. Heylin) 8vo. London, 1659. part i. p. 20.—See likewise Fuller's reply to this remark of Heylin, in his 'Appeal 'of injured Innocence—in a controversy between Dr. P. Heylyn, 'and J. Fuller.' fol. 1659. part i. p. 71.]

'shews, he says, that infant-baptism was not uni- CHAP.
'versally received.' Answer to Russen, p. 47. Of Year of the apostles.
the rest that he there reckons up, I must speak in the following sections; but Constantine they ought of their own accord to have left out; for it does but hurt their cause to build on a supposal, which almost every one knows to be a mistake in matter of fact.

Yet something Mr. Danvers has to say for this too, that Constantius was a Christian. He takes out of the 'Magdeburgenses' a piece of a sentence of Eusebius, where speaking of Constantine, he, says he, was 'bonus a bono; pius a pio;' 'a good man, 'son of a good man; a pious man, son of a pious 'man.' It is not worth the while to look whether this be truly quoted or not[z]. It is certain that Eusebius, out of his desire to honour Constantine, and all that belonged to him, did stretch his expressions to further reaches than this: as where he says, Constantine 'became a follower of his father's 'piety [or pious favour, or respect] toward our reli-'gion[a].' And at another place, 'He considered unto 'what God he should address, &c., and so he resolved 'to reverence his father's God only[b].'

These places being picked out by themselves, would make one think that Constantius had professed Christianity. But whoever reads the whole account will (whether he be prejudiced for one or the other side of this controversy) agree, that all that is meant by these compliments amounts but to

[z] [The words occur in the Centur. Magdeburg. Cent. iv. cap. 3. sect. 'De tranquillitate Ecclesiæ sub Constantino,' tom. ii. p. 61. edit. Basil. 1560.]

[a] Hist. lib. viii. c. 13.

[b] De Vita Const. lib. i. c. 27.

CHAP. III. this; that at the time when his fellow emperors did bitterly persecute the Christians, he on the other side favoured them, and screened them as much as he could, and on all occasions shewed a good opinion of them and their religion. And so it is in the places themselves explained; not that he ever made it his own religion. He died a heathen; and that he was by the heathens deified after his death, appears not only by the coins, but also by Eusebius' words.

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And besides, Eusebius himself determines this matter clearly and fully (as far as concerns our purpose) in the place before recited[c]; when having related Constantine's baptism, he adds, 'That he 'was the first of all the emperors that ever were, 'that being regenerated,' &c. And again, 'That 'he only, of all that had been, did profess the Gos-'pel of Jesus Christ with great liberty of speech[d],' i. e. did make open profession of it.

So little do some scraps of sentences picked here and there out of authors for one's purpose signify, to give an account of their true meaning.

Beside that, if Constantius had embraced the
204. Christian religion when he was emperor; yet there is no appearance that he had any inclination to it
174. when his son Constantine was born, which was thirty years before.

As for Helena, Constantine's mother, though the inquiry concerning her religion be not very material; because not many, especially great men, suffer their wives to choose what religion their sons shall be entered into; yet I made some inquiry. And after I had, in order to discover her religion, searched

[c] De Vita Const. lib. iv. c. 62. [d] Ibid. cap. 75.

into the accounts of her condition and parentage, which are so variously given, (some making her a Bithynian, others a Briton, (but these last mar their own story by relating her to be a king's daughter; whereas all about that time speak of her as one of a mean quality, she being in scorn called Stabularia,) some taking her for a wife, others for a concubine[e], others for an absolute harlot[f] to Constantius, and those that call her a wife, must consequently grant that he had two at a time, or else that Helena was divorced when he married Theodora) I found it was needless to inquire any further, when I saw that Eusebius, a witness unquestionable in this matter, says[g], that 'her son Constantine first brought her to be a godly woman [or Christian], which she was not before.' In her old age all agree that she proved a very zealous Christian. And it does something excuse her former way of living, that it was before her Christianity. CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

III. And as for Constantius the son of Constantine, what has been said of Constantine's late baptism does without more ado satisfy us of the reason why his son Constantius was not baptized in infancy. Constantine probably was not resolved what religion to be of, but certainly was not baptized when Constantius was born, nor a long time after. 317.

And concerning Fausta, the mother of this Constantius, the daughter of Maximianus Herculius, (the bloodiest enemy the Christians ever had,) whom Constantine was forced to marry for reason of state; there is no probability that she was a Christian when

[e] Orosius, lib. vii. c. 25. [f] Nicephorus Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. c. 18.

[g] Lib. iii. de Vita Const. c. 47.

CHAP. III. this son was born, and very little that she was ever so at all; for Constantine put her to death not long after. On the contrary, some histories speak of her endeavours to alienate her husband's mind from that religion[f].

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So Constantius not having been baptized into the Christian religion in infancy, (as it was impossible he should,) but coming afterward to the knowledge of it, and approving it, yet he did as his father had done before, i. e. he deferred his baptism to the end
361. of his life; for it was but just before[g] his death that he was baptized by Euzoius, the Arian bishop of Antioch.

About five or six years before, Lucifer, bishop of Calaris, had wrote his mind very plainly and bluntly to him in defence of Athanasius, whom he grievously persecuted; and told him, that instead of abusing Athanasius, he had[h] 'great need to 'desire that holy priest of God to pray to God 'for him for the forgiveness of his impieties, as 'Job's friends desired Job; and to procure himself 'to be baptized by him, or some of his fellow bi-'shops.' And St. Hilary had complained[i] that he, *credendi formam ecclesiis nondum regeneratus imponeret:* 'should pretend to prescribe a form of 'faith to the churches, when he was not yet regene-'rated [i. e. baptized] himself.'

[f] Mich. Glycas, Annal. lib. iv. [p. 248. edit. Paris, 1661.]

[g] Athanas. de Synodis,—§. 31. Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. ult.

[h] Lucifer pro Athanasio, lib. i. [§. 46. apud Biblioth. Patrum, tom. ii. edit. Colon. 1618.]

[i] Hilarius de Synodis, prope finem. [§. 78. p. 1184. edit. Benedict.]

Indeed both he and his father Constantine were guilty of such wickedness, even after their declaring for the Christian religion, (Constantine in murdering so many of his kindred; and he in doing the like, and also in persecuting the catholic Christians,) that it is no wonder if a guilty conscience kept them from baptism, till they could find in their heart to repent of such barbarities. And when the papists object to us our reformation begun under such a king as Henry VIII. they may reflect, that Constantine, by whose means the allowed profession of Christianity itself was brought into the world, has not a much better character. And that it does not please God always to choose good men, but sometimes to make wicked kings instruments of bringing his purposes to pass. CHAP. II. Year after the apostles. 154.

But yet there is, I think, no Christian writer that presses so hard upon the credit of Constantine in this matter, as Baronius, and they of the church of Rome that follow him. They strike in with that scandalous story which the heathen writers of that time did dress up on a purpose of spite and slander to the Christian religion, and to Constantine for embracing of it: which was, that he, after the murder of his son Crispus, and his wife Fausta, and his sister's son Licinius, &c., was terrified in conscience, and sought among the heathen priests for somebody that would expiate him, and give him hopes of pardon. But that these told him, that they had rites of expiation for very great sins, and for ordinary murders: but none for such parricide as his was: and so left him in despair. And that then it was that he was informed, what large offers of pardon the Christian religion made to all comers

CHAP. III. Year after the apostasy.

that would be baptized; and embraced that, not out of any liking to its doctrines, but because no other would receive him.

It is questionless no discredit to any religion (but the excellency of it) to have such sacraments, to which is annexed the promise of forgiveness of the greatest sins; provided it does lay severe injunctions against practising the same for the future. Yet since this story is set on foot by Zosimus[k] and other heathens, out of spite to Constantine and the Christian religion; and is false; and is shewed to be so by Sozomen[l], and other Christian historians, (for Constantine favoured Christianity, and made laws in favour of it, before this time,) it discovers an ill bias in Baronius, who (to make the fable of his baptism at Rome more probable) embraces it. But the men of that court make no scruple to advance the repute and pride of it, by treading not only on the necks of present emperors, but also on the credit of the most ancient ones. For, according to this character, what difference is there between Constantine and Julian; save that the one did actually go over to heathenism, and was willingly received by the pagan priests; the other would have done the same, but was not admitted by them.

Sect. 3. Of Gratian and Valentinian the Second. There is no proof that their father, Valentinian the First, was a baptized Christian when they were born.

I. The import of some sayings of the authors which I shall have occasion to produce in the case

[k] Zosimi Histor. lib. iv. cap. 29. p. 152. edit. Reitemier, 8vo. 1784. where consult Heyne's note upon the passage, at p. 549.

[l] Hist. Eccl. lib. i. cap. 5.

of these two emperors, will not be so well understood by the ordinary reader, unless I first give a short history of their father and them, as far as concerns this matter. CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

Valentinian the First came from a mean original to the imperial dignity [m]. He gained his preferment by degrees in the army. He is not taken notice of by the historians, till such time as being an officer in the guards, when Julian came to the crown, he lost his place for his religion. For Julian being resolved to set up the old religion again, gave order that none should serve, (especially in those places nigh his person,) but such as would go to the heathen sacrifices, and partake of them. 361.

There were a great many in the army, by this time, well instructed in the Christian religion, who rather than go to this sort of mass, would leave their places. Among the rest, this Valentinian and Valens his brother threw away their sword-belts [n]. 364. Three years after, both these brothers came to be emperors. For Valentinian being chosen by the army, chose his brother his partner; and leaving him to govern the East, went himself to govern Rome and the western parts.

A reader that is not well acquainted with the custom that persons converted in those times had, of delaying their baptism, would think by the zeal for Christianity that they shewed under Julian, that they both had been at that time baptized. But it is certain they were not both; for we find Valens baptized afterward. His baptism is mentioned by the historians, because of an unusual and wicked 369.

[m] Socrat. Hist. Eccl. lib. iv. cap. 1. [n] Ibid. lib. iii. cap. 13.

CHAP. III. circumstance of it. He was by his wife, who was an Arian, persuaded to be baptized by Eudoxius the Arian bishop of Constantinople: and they together prevailed on him to swear at his baptism [o], that he would always continue to be on the Arians' side, and expel the catholics out of the churches. An impious practice! Instead of baptizing into the Christian religion, as Christian, to baptize into a sect.

Year after the apostles.

But Valentinian's baptism is not mentioned at all by the historians: neither should we be sure whether he was ever baptized, were it not for a passage in a letter of St. Ambrose, which I shall have occasion to cite by and by. He was born in
217. Pannonia, a country where Christianity had at that time but little footing; and probably of heathen parents. Who, or what they were, we hear no more than that his father's name had been Gratian, that he was nicknamed Funarius, and that he had been an officer in Britain, in the time of Constantine.

259. II. Now as to his sons: Gratian was [p] born to
267. him before he was emperor [q], and on the [r] fourth year of his reign was taken by him into partnership. But Valentinian, his younger son, was born
365. to him the [s] third year of his reign; so that he was
375. nine years old when his father [t] died. Ammianus Marcellinus says he was but four. But it must be a mistake, both because Socrates [u] names the consuls of the year in which he was born, which were Gratian and Dagalaiphus, for the year of Christ
366. 366; and also because the third year after, 369,
369. this young Valentinian was consul himself, (accord-

[o] Theodoret. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 12. 13.

[q] Socrat. lib. iv. cap. 10. [t] Lib. iv. cap. 9.

ing to the custom of those times,) which was before the year on which Ammianus makes him to be born. CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

When Valentinian the elder died, the army proclaimed this young Valentinian emperor, together with his brother. So they ruled the West, and their uncle Valens the East. And when Valens died, Gratian quickly after chose Theodosius to govern the East. 375. 378. 379.

Four years after, the usurper Maximus set up in Britain for emperor. And when Gratian marched against him, his army deserting, he was overcome by Maximus, and slain. Valentinian kept Italy and some other countries for a few years; during which time, being ruled by his mother Justina, a bitter Arian, he favoured the Arians, and persecuted the catholics, particularly St. Ambrose bishop of Milan. 382. 383.

Among other indignities, he summoned St. Ambrose to come and dispute before him, concerning the faith, with Auxentius the Arian; and he with his courtiers would judge between them. To which summons St. Ambrose answers in a [x]letter to him; which has this passage in it to our purpose:

'When did you hear, most gracious emperor, 'that laymen have passed judgment on a bishop in a 'matter of faith? Do we then by a sort of fawning 'so debase ourselves, as to forget what is the privi-'lege of the sacerdotal office? And that I should 'commit that into the hands of another, which God 'has intrusted with me myself? If a bishop must 'be taught by a layman, what will follow? Then 'let a layman preach, and the bishop give attention; 'let a bishop learn of a layman.

[x] Ambrosii Epist. 32. [ep. 21. edit. Benedict. tom. ii. p. 860.]

CHAP. III.

Year after the apostles.

'This is unquestionable, that if we search either 'into the tenor of the holy scriptures, or into the 'account of past times, there is none can deny that, 'in matters of faith, *I say, in matters of faith*, 'bishops are wont to judge of emperors that are 'Christians, and not emperors of bishops.

'You will, by the grace of God, arrive to a better 'ripeness of age; and then you yourself will pass 'an estimate, what sort of man for a bishop he 'must be, that will put the sacerdotal right under 'the judgment of laymen.

'Your father, a man, by God's mercy, of a more 'advanced age, said, "It does not belong to me to 'judge between bishops." Does your grace now 'say, "It does belong to me to judge?" And he, 'though at that time baptized in Christ, yet thought 'himself unable to bear the weight of so great a 'judgment. Does your grace, for whom *the sacra-* '*ment of baptism is yet reserved to be obtained by* '*you*, take upon you the determination of matters 'of faith, when as yet you are not partaker of the 'sacrament of faith?'

This scuffle between the court on one side standing for the Arians, and the major part of the people on the other for their religion, their church and their bishop, increased so far, (the emperor demanding the church for the Arians, the people continuing day and night in it; the court giving out that bishop Ambrose meant to set up for an usurper[y], St. Ambrose declaring, that as he abhorred the thoughts of resistance[z], or of stirring up the people,

[y] Ambrosii Epist. 33. [ep. 20. edit. Benedict.]

[z] Idem, Oratione in Auxentium. [Op. tom. ii. p. 863. edit. Benedict.]

so he could not, on the other side, run away from his church and flock in that danger of their souls, but was ready to suffer death quietly,) that Maximus the usurper, who had already, since the defeat and death of Gratian, settled himself in Britain and France, and gaped for an opportunity of invading Italy, took his advantage of these discontents; and he published a DECLARATION in behalf of the true religion, and threatening war to Valentinian[a], if he did not forbear to persecute the catholics. CHAP. III Year after the apostles.

The court, for all their anger against St. Ambrose, yet could not find a fitter man to avert this storm than he, because of the influence which they thought he might have upon Maximus. They sent him therefore on an embassy of peace. Which he performed with all that fidelity that became a good Christian, who would shew himself loyal to his prince, that had despitefully used him and his religion.

But as to his errand, he could do no good (for usurpers, when they find their advantage, do not use to be kept back by reasons of conscience). On the contrary, when Maximus saw that St. Ambrose would not communicate with him, nor with the bishops that communicated with him, he commanded him to be gone. And St. Ambrose sent an account of his embassy to Valentinian[b], advising him to look to his safety, *Adversus hominem pacis inroducro bellum tegentem*, 'against a man, that under pretence 'of peace, [or doing good offices,] covered his design 'of war [or invasion].'

And so it proved: Maximus invaded Italy; and Valentinian had nothing to do but to fly.

[a] Theodoret. Hist. lib. v. cap. 14.

[b] Ambros. Epist. 27. [24. in edit. Benedict.]

CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

But Theodosius, who had, ever since he heard of the death of Gratian, resolved to revenge it, having now his army ready, came from the East; and though the usurper had strengthened himself by humouring all parties of Christians, Jews, and
388. Pagans; yet he overcame him, slew him, and resettled Valentinian, and brought him off from his fondness to the Arians, (his foolish mother being now dead,) and reconciled him to St. Ambrose, whom he ever after honoured as a father.

This quietness had lasted but three years, when
391. a new usurper Eugenius started up; with whom Argobastes, one of the greatest men at court, traitorously joined. Valentinian, being then in France, was seized by Argobastes, and after a while mur-
392. dered by him. This was in the year 392; so that he was, when he died, twenty-six years old.

III. He had, a little before this treason broke out, resolved to be baptized before he went for Italy. He had a particular desire to receive it from the hands of St. Ambrose, and had lately sent to Milan to him, to desire him to come and give it him. St. Ambrose was on his way to France when he heard the fatal news, which rendered his journey now too late.

One shall hardly read a more compassionate lamentation than St. Ambrose makes on this account in his funeral sermon for Valentinian. What with the object that was present, and what with the occasion it gave to remember Gratian, he says all that could be said by a man that had lost his own children by a like fate. He persuades himself, that if he could have arrived before the murderous blow was given, he might have prevailed with the tyrants

to spare his life at least. I doubt he was mistaken in that; for who ever read of an *Oliver* that did that? CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

But as to Valentinian's dying unbaptized; he comforts his sisters, that were present at the sermon, by assuring them, that in such a case God accepts of a sincere faith joined with a hearty desire of baptism, as if the person had been actually baptized. Which saying of his is often cited for the resolution of like cases. 'I hear,' says he, 'you are 'troubled that he did not receive the holy rites of 'baptism. Tell me, what is there in our power 'but the will and desire? And he, both a good 'while ago had a purpose of being baptized before 'he returned into Italy; and also lately expressed 'his desire of being baptized by me: and it was 'for that reason especially that he would have me 'sent for.

'Hath he not then that grace which he desired, 'and which he endeavoured to have? Inasmuch as 'he desired it, he has received it.'

Upon the news of this rebellion and murder, Theodosius came once more from the East, and obtained a victory over Eugenius, which, (counting the numbers that sided with Eugenius,) the historians count almost miraculous, and slew him. As 394. for the traitor Argobastes, he saved the hangman a labour.

And this was one of the last good acts of that noble emperor. He died quickly after. And St. 395. Ambrose had the sorrow of preaching his funeral sermon too.

I cannot but observe from that sermon, the dif-

CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

ferent grounds on which St. Ambrose, from those on which Baronius does condemn Maximus. Baronius' way is, when any great man in history comes to an ill end, or other calamity, to find something in his life which may be supposed to be the cause for which that judgment fell on him: and it is commonly something done against the church of Rome. And speaking of the ill end of Maximus, when he looks backward for the cause of it, he takes no notice of his rebellion and usurpation, and murder of his prince; like the man, who, pretending to tell the faults of a horse that he sold, forgot to mention that he was blind; and observes how once on a time, a great while before, being appealed to by some bishops, he had meddled in ecclesiastical matters more than became him [c].

But St. Ambrose, in the foresaid sermon [d], having spoken of Gratian and Theodosius as being then in heaven, adds, *Contra autem Maximus et Eugenius in inferno, docentes exemplo miserabili quam durum sit arma suis principibus irrogare.* 'But Maximus 'and Eugenius are now in hell, teaching by their 'dreadful example how heinous a thing it is for 'men to bear arms against their sovereigns.'

IV. From this whole relation it appears,

1. That Valentinian the younger was never baptized.

2. That Gratian probably was baptized some time of his life or other. Because St. Ambrose, in Valentinian's funeral sermon, makes frequent com-

[c] Ad annum 385.

[d] Orat. in funere Theodosii, [§. 39. Op. tom. ii. p. 1209. edit. Benedict.]

parisons between the two brothers, and often mentions Valentinian's want of baptism; but observes no such thing of Gratian. Besides, he calls him there *Fidelis*; which is a term never given by the ancients but to a baptized person. CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

But yet it is probable his baptism was not in infancy. For what should make Valentinian the father baptize his eldest son in infancy, and not his youngest? Unless we may judge that Justina, the mother of the youngest, being an Arian, (for the mother of the eldest was not so,) and the father himself being a catholic, they could not agree into which faith he should be baptized. For the Arians were like the Donatists for that; that they had so ill an opinion of baptism given by the catholics, that they baptized such over again; as may be seen by St. Ambrose's Discourse against Auxentius[e]. And therefore,

V. 3. The chief question is, whether Valentinian the father were baptized himself at the time when his youngest son was born. We have heard already[f], that he was a baptized Christian at a certain time, when he said, that 'he did not think 'himself fit to judge between bishops.' But what time of his reign this refers to we have no way to know certainly. The passage that looks most like it in all that we read, is that which happened at the election of St. Ambrose himself to the bishopric of Milan: and St. Ambrose was more likely to know that, and to refer to that, than any other. For then, as Theodoret tells us[g], the bishop of Milan 374.

[e] Orat. in Auxentium, in fine. [§. 37. Op. tom. ii. p. 874. edit. Benedict.]

[f] §. 2 of this chapter.

[g] Hist lib. iv. cap. 6.

CHAP. III. being dead, the people were much divided about the choice of a new one, some setting up one, and some another: so that to avoid confusion, Valentinian ordered the neighbouring bishops that were then in that city to choose one for them. The bishops desired that he himself would pitch upon some person. But he answered, 'This is a thing too great for me 'to undertake. You that are filled with the grace 'of God, and illuminated by the light thereof, may 'much better do this office of choosing a man for a 'bishop.'

Year after the apostles.

If this were the time St. Ambrose means, at which he was then a baptized person; this was but a year, or thereabouts, before his death: for St. Am-
374. brose was made bishop in the year of Christ 374, as Baronius, or the beginning of 375, as Petavius computes; and Valentinian died November the 17th,
375. 375.

So that he might for all that be unbaptized when
366. his son Valentinian was born, which was, as we said[h], nine years before, viz. anno Dom. 366.

Sect. 4. Of Theodosius the First.

His father was not a baptized Christian when he was born.

I. Theodosius, (of whom we had occasion to
379. speak in the last section,) who was chosen by Gratian to be his fellow emperor, is another of the instances of persons not baptized in infancy. What I have to say of him, may be dispatched in a few words. He was baptized quickly after he was chosen emperor[i], and in a fit of sickness, by Acholius, (or, as the Greeks write his name, Ascholius,) bishop of Thessalonica: being then thirty-four

[h] §. 2. [i] Socrates, lib. v. cap. 6.

years old, as Victor counts; forty-four as Socrates reckons; or about fifty, if the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* be to be relied on. CHAP. III. Year after the apostles. 170.

II. His father, who was also named Theodosius, had been put to death by order of Valens nine years before. At what time of his life he was baptized, I think we should not have known but for Orosius, who (because he was a Spaniard, his countryman) speaks more particularly of his concerns. So that we know by him that he was baptized before he died: but not till twenty-five years (by the lowest account) after this his son was born. And whether he was, at that time of his son's birth, a Christian in intention, or an unbeliever, is not to be known.

Orosius' account is this[k]; that he, being a commander in the army, had done good and faithful services: but yet that on a sudden, and for what reason nobody knew, there came an order that he must be put to death. Which when he understood, 'he desired to be baptized first, for the forgiveness 'of his sins. And when he was made partaker of 'that sacrament of Christ, as he desired; being, 'after a laudable life in this world, secure also of 'an eternal life, he willingly offered his neck to 'the executioner.'

Other authors, though not mentioning his baptism, give the same account of his death. And the occasion of it they relate to be such, as gives us an idea of the mischief that superstitious jealousies do, when they get into the head of a cowardly prince. Valens had had some attempts made to dethrone him. And there was a report ran up and down

[k] Hist. lib. vii. [cap. 33.]

CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

and is sufficiently detected to be such by Rivet[p], Baronius[q], Bellarmin[r], Possevin, and before them all, by bishop Jewel[s].

The author thereof had, I suppose, read or heard that Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium, had wrote an account of St. Basil's life, (as he did indeed, and Gregory Nazianzen and Gregory Nyssen did the like; but that which was written by him is lost, as are most or all his other works). He therefore put forth his stuff under the name of that great man. But it betrays itself by many tokens, of fabulous miracles, incongruities in history, &c. And in that fable which he gives of his baptism, there are such silly monkish quibbles and witticisms put into the discourse that passed between Basil and Maximus, who is made to be his baptizer, (as one asks, *Quis est mundus?* The other answers, *Qui fecit mundum*, &c.?) that one might guess from what shop they come.

F. Combefis has published this piece in Greek and Latin, and endeavoured to vindicate it by saying, the main part of it might be genuine though it be interpolated and mixt with some fabulous additions: but, as Mr. Du Pin observes[t], he brings no kind of proof of his opinion.

III. The true account wrote by Nazianzen, Orat. 30. *in laudem Basilii*, nor that by Nyssen, have no mention of any such thing; nor that under the name of Ephraem Syrus. On the contrary, Nazi-

[p] Crit. Sacr. lib. iii. cap. 27. [q] Ad annum 363.

[r] De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, [§. De Amphilochio, apud Op. tom. vii. p. 68. edit. Colon. 1617.]

[s] Apolog. Eccles. Angl. Artic. i. Div. 33.

[t] Nouv. Biblioth. tom. ii. Amphiloch.

anzen seems plainly to refer to his baptism in infancy by his own father; as I shewed before. CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

Their reciting all the remarkable passages of his life, after he came to age, without mentioning any thing of his baptism, is a strong argument that there was no such thing: since in all that are baptized at age, their baptism makes a considerable circumstance for a writer, whose chief subject is their Christianity. And therefore the monk, who framed a life for him that might sell well, would not omit it: and to dress it up the better, made it to be in Jordan, where Christ was baptized, and Constantine desired to be.

IV. If the twenty-ninth chapter of St. Basil's book, *de Spiritu Sancto*, be genuine, (which is questioned by Erasmus and others,) then it is certain that the same man that baptized him, did also put him into the ministry: for so he says in that chapter. He is there shewing, that the custom used by him and the churches, of saying the Doxology, thus, 'Glory 'be to the Father, and to the Son, with the Holy 'Spirit;' or thus, 'Glory be to the Father, and to 'the Son, and to the Holy Spirit,' (instead whereof the Arians would have him say, 'By the Son in 'the Holy Spirit,') was no innovation. He quotes several ancient authors that had spoke so: and begins thus:

'I myself, if it be proper to say any thing of my-'self in this case, do keep the use of this expression 'ὥσπερ τινα κλῆρον πατρῷον, as an inheritance left me 'by my father, having received it from a man who 'lived a long time in the ministry of God, by whom 'I was both baptized and also put into the ministry 'of the church.'

CHAP. III. 'ear after ie apo-les.

This could not be Meletius, (whom Dr. Cave reckons to be the man by whom he was ordained deacon,) because he afterwards reckons Meletius, as another of his authors for the same usage; and says, 'that the famous Meletius is of the same 'sentiment, they that have conversed with him do 'affirm.'

That St. Basil himself did use to baptize children, I shewed before in the First Part of this work, ch. xii. §. 9, 10.

§. VI. Of St. Gregory Nazianzen.

He was not baptized in infancy. An inquiry whether his father was a Christian, when this his son was born.

§. I. When fourteen instances are produced to prove any thing, and one can shew that thirteen of them are mistakes, he is apt to suspect that there is some mistake in the other two, though he cannot find it out. Yet here is an instance of a Christian's son not baptized in infancy, if this Gregory's *Carmen de vita sua* be a genuine piece, (as I never heard of any that questioned it,) and if there be no mistake in the reading of it.

I shall represent impartially, and as briefly as I can, the proofs that are brought of his being born before his father's Christianity; and those to the contrary.

That he was not baptized in infancy is plain, both from the foresaid poem *de vita sua*, and also from the sermon that he made at his father's funeral[u], and also from the history of his life by Gregorius Presbyter. For in all these a full relation

[u] Orat. 19. [Orat. 18. edit. Benedict. fol. 1778.]

is given, how he, in a voyage by sea from Alex- CHAP. II
andria to Athens, was in great danger of shipwreck Year after the apostles.
by a storm; 'and whereas all the rest in the ship
'were terrified with the fear of their bodily death,
'I,' says he, 'did more dreadfully fear the death of
'my soul. For I was in great hazard of departing
'this life unbaptized: amidst the sea waters that
'were to be my death, wanting that spiritual water.
'And therefore I cried out, entreated, besought, that
'some space of life might be granted to me.' He goes on to shew how his lamentation and dread on that account were so great and so moving, that the people in the ship forgot their own danger, in compassion to those terrors which they saw were upon his soul. And how he then vowed to God, that if he were delivered from that danger, he would offer himself up to God; and did so accordingly.

II. That his father was not a Christian when he married, nor for some time after, is plain from the said funeral oration[x]. He was of the religion called *Hypsistarian*. These men, as is there related, did so renounce the worship of idols and sacrifices, as that they retained nevertheless the worship of fire and torches.

Mr. Le Clerc[y], being busied in finding contradictions in the Fathers, thinks he has found one here: because Gregory in another place[z] says, his father ἐν εἰδώλοις πάρος ἦεν ζώων· which he translates, 'was 'subject to the idols of animals:' not minding that ζώων there is the participle of the poetical verb ζώω

[x] Orat. 19. [or 18.]

[y] Life of Greg. Naz. Bibliotheque, tom. x.

[z] Carm. 1. de Rebus Suis. [Op. tom. ii. p. 31. edit. Paris. 1630.]

CHAP. III. and not the genitive of ζῶον though Bilius had noted that criticism.

Year after the apostles.

He continued in that superstition till the year of
225. the council of Nice, anno Dom. 325. His wife had before used her persuasions and prayers for his conversion. But then, when Leontius bishop of Cæsarea, and some other bishops, were going by that place for Nice to the council, she got them to instruct him in the grounds of the Christian religion; and he was baptized into it quickly after: and not long after that took priest's orders: and when the bishop of Nazianzum died, became his successor. In which office he lived forty-five years, and died near 100 years old. All this is clear in the oration aforesaid.

III. Now the question is, whether our Gregory his son were born before that his father's conversion in the said year 325, or after?

And the solution of it must be collected by knowing, if one could, how old he [the son] was when he died. For we know justly the year on which he died, by St. Hierome, who wrote the tract *de Scriptoribus Ecclesiast.*[a] the fourteenth year of Theodosius, anno 392; and says there[b], that Gregory Nazianzen had been dead but three years. He died
289. therefore in the year 389.

The difficulty is, to know what age he was of when he died.

Gregorius Presbyter, who wrote his life, says, he died very old. And Suidas (who mistakes the time of his death two years, making him to live till the

[a] [Hieronymus de Viris illustribus. Op. tom. ii. edit. Vallars.] Verb. Hieronymus. [cap. 135.]

[b] Verb. Gregor. [cap. 117.]

thirteenth year of Theodosius) says, that he was then ninety years old[c]. By that account he must have been born in the year 300, which is twenty-five years before his father was a Christian. CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

But Baronius[d] finds reason, as he thinks, to correct this chronology, from a passage out of Gregory himself; who, in the aforesaid *Carmen de vita sua*, speaking of his studying at Athens, and of his resolution to leave that place, says, it was then his thirtieth year [or, the thirtieth year]. This Baronius concludes to be the year 354, by Julian the apostate's being a student there at the same time, (for he was made Cæsar and sent into France the next year.) From whence he infers, that Gregory was born in the year 324, (which was the year before his father's conversion,) and that he was but sixty-five years old when he died.

IV. But Papebrochius in his *Acta Sanctorum Maii octavo*[e] corrects this correction, and sets the time of his birth back to the old account: bringing a great many probable evidences that Gregory's age must be greater than sixty-five years; since he himself so often speaks of his being unfit for business, by reason of his great age.

When Maximus the cynic opposed his being made bishop of Constantinople; Gregory, in his oration on that subject[f], brings in his adversaries, objecting to him his sickliness and old age.

When he desired to resign the said bishopric, (which was eight years before he died,) and per- 381.

[c] Verb. Γρηγορ. [d] Ad an. 354. et 389.

[e] Chronologia vitæ Sancti Greg. expensa et emendata. [apud Acta Sanctorum Maii, tom. ii. p. 370.]

[f] Orat. 28. [or. 26. edit. Benedict.]

CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

suaded the bishops then present at the council to consent to his so doing; he used this argument: 'Let these my grey hairs prevail with you[g]:' which looks as if he were then more than fifty-seven years old.

This learned man does also answer the reason that Baronius brings to the contrary, by endeavouring to shew that the foresaid mention of the thirtieth year, is not meant for the thirtieth year of his life, (of which it was the fifty-fourth, as he thinks,) but the thirtieth of his studies. And indeed the words, as they stand, do bear that sense very well; they are these:

καὶ γὰρ πόλυς τέτριπτο τοῖς λόγοις χρόνος·
ἤδη τριακοστὸν μοὶ σχεδὸν τοῦτ' ἦν ἔτος.

'For I had already spent a long time in study of learning:
'This was almost the thirtieth year [or, my thirtieth year.']

Gregorius Presbyter, who wrote the life of St. Gregory, and took it for the most part out of his foresaid poem, seems to understand it so: and yet his words are capable of the other construction too. He expresses it thus: τριακοστὸν ἤδη πληρώσας ἔτος ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν· 'Having now completed thirty years '[or else his thirtieth year] in the study of learning[h].'

Moreover Rufinus, who was contemporary with him, says[i], he died *jam fessa ætate*, 'being spent 'with age.' Which hardly can be said of one that was but sixty-five years old.

These reasons, joined with some others of less

[g] Orat. 32. [or. 42. edit. Benedict.]

[h] In vita Gregorii, [Operibus ejus præfixa, p. cxxxii. edit. Benedict.]

[i] Hist. lib. ii. c. 9. [See the two books added by Rufinus to the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius.]

weight, prevailed with Papebrochius to embrace the old account as the truest, viz. that he was ninety years old when he died; and consequently that he was born anno Dom. 300. And that was twenty-five years before his father was a Christian. CHAP. III Year after the apostles.

Mr. Le Clerc, who writes a sort of life of this saint [k], manages this argument of his age after a heedless and absurd manner. For first, he, following Pagi, who had followed Papebrochius, says, that he was born anno 300, which is twenty-five years before his father's conversion: and accordingly supposes with the foresaid authors, that the year on which he left Athens was the fifty-fourth of his age. And the use he makes of this is, to 'wonder that 'he would spend so great a part of his life in studying rhetoric, forgetting in the mean time all care 'of his aged parents, and of the church of God.' And yet afterward, in the same life, he 'wonders 'why, since it was the opinion of that age, that 'those that die unbaptized are damned, his father 'and mother being such zealous Christians did not 'get him baptized in infancy.' Which is to suppose that he was born after his father's conversion, which he and every body place at the year 325; or else it is the wonder of a man that doats. One of these suppositions helps a man that would expose Gregory to censure; which seems to be the design of this writer of lives for this and some other Fathers. And the other serves to raise objections against the universality of the then practice of pædobaptism. But it is very unfair to serve both these intentions from this instance; because one of them supposes

[k] Bibliothèque, tom. x.

CHAP. III. him to be born after his father was a Christian, and the other twenty-five years before.

Year after the apostles.

There is another reason to make one believe that he was born before his father's conversion; which is this. In the foresaid oration at his father's funeral, he tells how his mother, being desirous of a son, and begged one of God in her prayers, and that in answer to those prayers he was born to her. And afterward he comes to speak of those prayers that she made for her husband's conversion: in which prayers she was encouraged to the greater hope of being heard, 'as having,' says he, 'already 'made trial of the Divine liberality.' On which Bilius makes this comment; 'namely, when she ob- 'tained her son Gregory of God, by her prayers, 'as he had said a little before [l].' And indeed that is the only instance mentioned before in that oration, to which one can suppose him to refer.

Also this reason: he often mentions his mother's pious and Christian care and dedication of him to God in his infancy, and from the womb [m], but never any such thing of his father.

V. These reasons would be sufficient to sway a man to believe that he was born before his father was a Christian; were it not for one that seems very plain to the contrary. And that is a passage in the foresaid poem, where Gregory the elder earnestly persuades his son, who had more mind to a private life, to become his assistant in the office of bishop of Nazianzum. He uses all the force of paternal authority, requiring him, upon pain of the loss of his blessing, to comply with his desire, and to

[l] Annot. in loc.

[m] Orat. Apologet. [Orat. ii. edit. Benedict.] et alibi.

relieve his old age: and, among the rest, has these words[n]: CHAP. II

Year after the apostles.

Οὔπω τοσοῦτον ἐκμεμέτρηκας βίον,
Ὅσος διῆλθε θυσιῶν ἐμοὶ χρόνος·
Δὸς τὴν χάριν, δός.

So many years of life you have not seen
As I, your father, have in orders been.
Do me the kindness, do. ——

Papebrochius does take notice of this place, and says, it has puzzled every body that has read it. He goes about to answer it by supposing the word θυσιῶν is misprinted, and that it should be ἐτησίων. But he produces no manuscript in favour of his amendment: and if one were to amend by the sense without any book, I should think rather that θυσιῶν has crept in by mistake for πολιῶν; (or, for the verse sake, τῶν πολιῶν: for he often here lets an anapæstus go for the fourth foot of his iambic;) the sense according to the editions is, 'Your life is not of so 'many years, as are the years of my 'sacrificing;' i. e. officiating in the priest's office: which is a sense very difficult to reconcile in history with truth. That of Papebrochius; 'You are not so old as I 'am;' is true: but a poor sense. 'You are not so 'old as my grey hairs are,' is to the purpose of the father's argument at that place.

Bishop Hall had found out this place[o], when he sought for instances of clergymen that had made use of the marriage-bed after they were in holy

[n] Carmen de vita sua, vers. 520. circiter pag 6. edit. Paris. 1610. [p. 9. edit. Paris. 1630.]

[o] Honour of the married Clergy, [maintained against the malicious challenges of C. E. Masse-priest,] lib. ii. §. 8. [8vo. Lond. 1620. reprinted in his Works, fol. 1624. p. 709, &c.]

CHAP. III. orders (of which this is the plainest that he can find). And the antipædobaptists have taken it from him; and made use of it for their purpose.

Year after the apostles.

VI. If this pass for current, then we must say that Baronius' account of his age is the truest; and further, that he was yet two or three years younger than he makes him. For if he had been full thirty years old at the year 354, he would still have been born a little before his father's baptism, and two years before his ordination. But the words are σχεδὸν τριακοστὸν, 'almost the thirtieth;' which in a poem may indeed pass, though he were but twenty-seven or twenty-eight.

We must say likewise, that all that he himself, and Rufinus, and Gregorius Presbyter, do speak of his old age, must be understood of a *præmatura senectus*, caused by his sickliness, which he often mentions. And that Suidas, when he makes him live to ninety years old, mistakes at least twenty-seven years: which might possibly be, since he
380. wrote 600 years after Gregory was dead: and that what he himself says of his mother's experience of the Divine liberality, before her husband's conversion, must refer to something else. And that Gre-
340. gorius Presbyter, (who also lived near 600 years after St. Gregory,) if his meaning be to speak of the time when he left Athens and went home, as the thirtieth year of his studies, must be mistaken by taking what Gregory himself had said of the thirtieth year, for the thirtieth of his studies, (as others have since done,) which, according to this supposition, must be but almost the thirtieth (viz. the twenty-seventh or twenty-eighth) of his life. And that Mr. Du Pin (who has gone a middle way,

making him to be born anno 318[p], which falls seven years before his father's baptism,) does yet place his birth eight or nine years too soon. For if he was born after his father's priesthood, it must be anno 327 or 326 at soonest. And possibly the numerical figure in the text of Mr. Du Pin is mistaken by the printer: for in the index at the end of the tome, it is printed 328. And according to this account, he was but sixty-one or sixty-two when he died. And his father and mother (for they were much of one age) were about fifty, when he [the son] was born. Which is old for a woman to have children: and yet she had one, if not more children, after her son Gregory. CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

And then also we must say, that this Gregory the elder was as singular in this practice of keeping his children unbaptized; as Mr. Johnson[q] has shewed him to be in the point of passive obedience: and as the papists will say he was in getting children after his being in holy orders.

I hope the reader will pardon the length of this disquisition, and the uncertain issue of it at last: for he will perceive by it how difficult it is to find the birth or age, even of such whose later years have been never so well noted. I lighted on one thread more, which I thought might have directed in this labyrinth. I observed that St. Gregory once speaks of St. Basil, as having been about the same age with himself. For he says at the end of the funeral oration[r], which he makes for him, 'This 'elogium is given thee, O Basil! by a tongue that

[p] Nouvelle Biblioth. tom. ii.

[q] Julian the Apostate. [chap ix. 8vo. Lond. 1682.]

[r] Orat. 20. [Or. 43. edit. Benedict.]

CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

'was wont to be most acceptable to thee, καὶ ὁμότιμον καὶ ἥλικος, and by one of the same function, 'and of the same age with thee.' If then I could find St. Basil's age, it would, I thought, direct me in that of his friend Gregory; at least so near, that we should not mistake thirty years. But I cannot find readily the account of St. Basil's age any more than of the other, and am quite out of the humour of entering on a new search after any body's age.

379. St. Basil died 379, (the first day of that year). This was ten or eleven years before Gregory died. St.

389. Basil, as well as St. Gregory, is often spoken of as an old man; and yet by this last account he must be but fifty-one, or thereabouts, when he died.

But then, on the other side, that same oration on St. Basil (in which Gregory mixes so many of his own concerns, that it is a sort of history of both their lives) does by many circumstances, too little and too long to be repeated, shew that they were

354. but young men when they left Athens. He says, that when they declared their purpose of returning home from thence; not only all their intimates 'and 'equals of the same age with them, ἥλικες,' but also many of the doctors there, expressed a great regret at their leaving the university so soon, being very unwilling to part with them. Which makes it probable that they themselves were but young masters of arts; and so confirms Baronius' opinion, that they were but thirty, or almost thirty, and not fifty-four, as they must have been by the other account.

Besides, St. Gregory in that oration recounting the great examples of Christian fortitude that had been in Basil's family, and speaking of the great persecution that was in Pontus under Maximinus,

relates how great a share the grandfathers of Basil had in it. Whereas if St. Basil himself had then been about ten years old, (as he must have been by the first account,) his father, rather than his grandfathers, would have been likely to be mentioned. I said in the former editions, that that one plain place aforesaid, which makes this Gregory born after his father's baptism and ordination, did seem to oversway all the reasons of chronologers to the contrary. But I have since minded another absurdity that attends it. St. Hierome *de Scriptoribus Eccl.* speaks of Gregory as having been his master: 'Præceptor meus, quo scripturas explanante, didici.' Now St. Hierome himself was born in the year 329, and it is not likely that he would speak so of one that was but four years older than himself. Perhaps it may be more likely that a word may be misprinted, than so many absurdities allowed. I shall determine nothing, but leave it to others.

CHAP. I. Year after the apostles. 210.

VII. The antipædobaptists have taken notice of no other children of that Gregory the elder, but this his son Gregory. But he had two other children, a daughter Gorgonia, and a son Cæsarius. There is no account whether Gorgonia were elder or younger than her brother Gregory; save that Elias Cretensis (if he knew any better than we) makes her to be younger[s]. If she were elder, she must have been born before her father was a Christian; since it is the hardest matter that may be to bring her brother Gregory's years within that compass. However that were, she was not baptized in in-

[s] Comm. in Greg. Naz. Orat. 19. [apud Greg. Op. tom. ii. p. 761. edit. Paris. 1630.]

CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

fancy; and being afterward left to her own discretion, she did not receive baptism till a little before she died[t], when she was so old as to have grandchildren, whom she had instructed in the Christian faith. Her husband also, whom she had married (as it seems by her brother's words at her funeral) while he was a heathen, was by her prevailed on to be baptized with her. She died before her father, who died before St. Basil. And since St. Basil died, as was said, on New Year's Day 379, it seems to have been 375 at the soonest, when she died. Her brother Gregory was then, by the last account of his age, but forty-eight. It is very unlikely then that she was younger, having then grandchildren of such an age.

Cæsarius was younger than either of them, and died the first of them. And though Gregory's words at his funeral[u], concerning his baptism, are not very plain for the time of it: yet they seem to intimate that he had then lately received it. And indeed (to observe this here once for all) the far greatest part of those that were not baptized in infancy, but were left to take their own time for it, we find to have put it off from time to time till they were apprehensive of death, excepting such as went into orders, or the like. But we find no baptized person, except this Gregory, that did so leave his children unbaptized.

If all the children of this elder Gregory were born after their father's Christianity, and yet left unbaptized; it is the instance but of one man's practice. And there is some more excuse for a

[t] Naz. Orat. in Laudem Gorgoniæ, [Orat. 8. edit. Benedict.]

[u] Orat. in Laudem Cæsarii, [Orat. 7. edit. Benedict.]

bishop, or other minister to do this, than for other men: because if his children fall sick, or into any sudden danger of death, he is ready at hand in the house to give them baptism. CHAP. Year aft the apostles.

It was probably from some compliance with this practice of his father, that St. Gregory, in one of the places that I quoted[x], gives that opinion, which is singular in him; that 'it is a good way if a child 'appear not to be in any danger of death, to defer 'his baptism for some time.' He mentions *three years* or thereabouts. And as he, at the same place, advises and counts it necessary, 'if it be in danger 'of death, to baptize it immediately:' so it is probable the same was his father's opinion; and that this his son had no sickness in his infancy, and so he thought he might defer the baptizing him.

That many people in this time delayed and put off the baptizing of their children something longer than ordinary, not out of principle that so they ought to do, but out of negligence, and a procrastination which they themselves owned to be blameable; appears plainly by that common and proverbial speech, which Isidore (speaking of Zipporah's circumcising her child) mentions[y]; and says, 'was used to be said in time of danger: "God's 'judgments come upon us; let us baptize our chil- 'dren out of hand."' 312.

Sect. 7. Of Nectarius.

There is no appearance of his parents being Christians, nor knowing who they were.

I. Though St. Gregory Nazianzen, who, after his father's death, was bishop of Constantinople,

[x] Part i. ch. 11. §. 7. [y] Isidor. Pelusiot. lib. i. Ep. 125.

CHAP. III. had done more for the restoring the catholic faith there, than had been done by any man in so short a time; yet he found a necessity of resigning the place. Partly by reason of his age and infirmity; and partly for that there was such a contention in the council of bishops about him. Some said it was not canonical, that he, having once accepted another bishopric formerly, should remove from it. Others, that he living as a hermit, wholly given to study and prayers, was not at all dexterous in making his court with the emperor for the good of the church: neither had he any good mien, but a contemptible presence.

A.D. 381. Year after the apostles.

To allay these heats, he did what St. Clement[z] had advised in such a case to be done. He willingly abdicated, and said, 'If this contention be upon my 'account, I am ready to depart; only let the flock of 'Christ be in peace[a].'

And when they were in consultation about another to be chosen; whom should they light on but one Nectarius, a layman of Tarsus, of a senator's rank, remarkable for a grave and comely presence, but of no learning or skill in divinity! The emperor liked this man so well, that he was finally chosen. They did the gentleman a great diskindness; for of a creditable and graceful alderman, they made of him a very insipid bishop.

But what is to our purpose is this; Nectarius, though he was by belief and profession a Christian, yet had not been as yet baptized[b]. They were forced, having baptized him, to give him ordination

[z] Clemens Romanus, Epist. 1 ad Corinth. cap. 54.

[a] Naz. Orat. ad 150 Episcopos. [Or. 43. edit. Benedict.]

[b] Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. v [cap. 8.] Sozom. lib. vii. [cap. 8.]

a few days after, notwithstanding the apostolical canon against choosing a novice for a bishop. CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

II. The antipædobaptists would make an argument from hence, that his parents must have been of their persuasion, since they had not baptized him in infancy. But first they ought to shew that his parents were Christians: since, as I said before, half the world at this time were such as had been, since they came to age, converted from heathenism, and liked Christianity; but the greater part of them did put off their baptism from time to time for a long while. And one might name several beside this man, that were pitched on by the people for bishops before they were baptized; some, whose parents are known to be heathens; and some, whose parents are not at all mentioned in history; so that it is impossible to know what religion they were of. But they do not make instances for this purpose, unless they are proved, at least by probable arguments, to have been born of Christians.

As for Nectarius' parents, we know nothing of their religion. And I believe it is as hard to find who they were, as it is to know who was Homer's or Job's father.

Sect. 8. Of St. John Chrysostom.

His parents were probably heathens at the time of his birth.

I. Among all the ancient Fathers, there is none that has had so many to write his life as St. Chrysostom. For, besides that Palladius, who lived together with him, has wrote his Dialogue purposely on that subject; the ancient historians, who lived

CHAP. III. nigh his time, Socrates[c], Sozomen[d], Theodoret[e], &c., have given a larger account of him than of any other man. And in the middle ages, there are abundance that have wrote tracts of the same: but these latter have intermixed several fables, which are disproved by the elder.

Year after the apostles.

Of these Palladius says[f], that he was baptized by Meletius, bishop of Antioch, after he had been instructed by him three years in the Christian religion. And though none of the other ancient writers do mention this his baptism at man's age; yet it is very probable, since, as far as we can learn, his parents were heathens at the time of his birth.
520. 800. Georgius, patriarch of Alexandria[g], and Metaphrastes, do say they were; and they are not in this contradicted by those elder.

II. His father Secundus died presently after he was born; as he himself intimates, lib. i. *de Sacerdotio.* His mother Anthusa was a Christian when
174. this her son was twenty years old: but that is no argument that she or her husband were so at the
254. time of his birth. At that time the heathens turned Christians as fast as the papists in England turned protestants, in the time of the reformation. And even at that time, when her son was twenty years old, though she was then a Christian in belief, yet the aforesaid historians, Georgius and Metaphrastes,

[c] Lib vi. [cap. 2, &c.]
[d] Lib. viii. [cap. 2, &c.]
[e] Lib. v. [cap. 27, &c.]
[f] Dial. de vita Chrysostomi, [apud Chrysost. Op. tom. xiii. edit Montf.]
[g] Vita Chrysostomi, [apud Chrysost. Op. tom. viii. p. 157. edit. Saville.]

say, that she was not baptized till her son was baptized first. They say it of his parents in the foresaid life, that they were baptized by Meletius after their son. But it could be true only of his mother, his father being dead long before. CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

I believe the antipædobaptists would not have conceived that they had ground enough to make Chrysostom one of their instances, if they had not been encouraged thereto by Grotius. And what he says is, that 'he being born of Christian parents, 'as the truer opinion is, and educated by Meletius, 'yet was not baptized till the twenty-first year of 'his age[h].'

That he was born of Christian parents he brings no proof at all. And it is little to the purpose that he was educated by Meletius. As bishops do not use to take infants to nurse, (though lads or young men to educate they may,) so in this case it appears that Chrysostom was twenty, or at least eighteen years old, before he came to Meletius. And then Meletius did with him as any bishop now would do with a young man that had been brought up in heathenism: he instructed him, and when he had continued a catechumen three years, baptized him.

That he was so old as I say, before he came to Meletius, is plain; because by all the accounts he came not to him till he forsook the school of Libanius, the heathen master of rhetoric. And that he continued his hearer till that age, appears by what he himself writes, *Oratione* 1. *ad viduam juniorem*; where speaking in praise of those women that continue widows, and how they are valued even among heathens, he tells this story; 'For I formerly, when

[h] Annot. in Matth. xix. 13.

CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

'I was young, took notice that my master, who was 'one of the most superstitious men that ever lived, 'did much admire my mother. For as he asked 'some that were about him who I was, and one 'made answer that I was a widow-woman's son; he 'asked me, how old my mother was, and how long 'she had been a widow. And when I told him that 'she was forty years old, and that it was twenty 'years since she buried my father; he was much 'affected at it, and speaking aloud to those that 'were present, "Strange," says he, "what brave 'women there are among the Christians!"'

Some chronologers find it more agreeable with the computation of time to suppose that it was not full twenty, but eighteen; which by a round number he here calls twenty. But it is much one to this purpose.

The saying of Libanius seems to suppose that Anthusa had been a Christian now for a considerable time, or at least that he took it so. But as he knew nothing of her concerns till that moment; her professing of Christianity at that time was enough to make him say what he did, without making any inquiry how long she had been of that profession.

Some readers also will be apt to conclude, that Chrysostom had been at that time but a little while a hearer of Libanius, (from whence it would follow probably that Anthusa was a Christian when she first sent her son to this school,) because Libanius did not at this time know who he was. But the nature of those auditories or lectures was, that one from one part of the city, and another from another, came on the weekly lecture days to hear, and sent

their contributions: so that a lad or a man might be a hearer for a long time before the master had any personal knowledge of him. The word [school] being otherwise used in our time, might be apt to make this mistake. But it is to be taken in the ancient sense, as in Acts xix. 9. The school of Tyrannus was not a college of lads under his care, but a place of public lectures that he kept. CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

III. There is, on the contrary, reason to think that she was not a Christian when she consented that her son should hear this master, who was a spiteful enemy to the Christian religion. And as this is probable of itself, so it is made more than probable, that not only she, but her son himself also, was a heathen when he came first to hear him, by what Sozomen affirms, viz. that 'On a time when 'Libanius was like to die, some of his friends asked 'him who he thought fit should be his successor? 'And he answered, "John" (meaning this John, 'who came afterward to be called Chrysostom) '"should have been the man, if the Christians 'had not stole him away from us[i]."' The word is ἐσυλησαν, 'robbed us of him:' which argues that he was a heathen before.

IV. Mr. Du Pin, in the notes he gives upon what he had said of Chrysostom[k], says, that 'some 'writers make his parents to be heathens: but 'that he himself, in the first sermon against the 'Ἀνόμους, says, that "he was bred up and nourished 'in the church:" and that it appears out of his first 'book *de Sacerdotio*, c. 1. that his mother was a 'Christian when his father died, which was quickly 'after she was delivered of him.'

[i] Hist. lib. viii. c. 2. [k] Nouvelle Biblioth. tom. iii. in Chrysost.

CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

Having a great regard to every thing that this excellent author says, I read over on purpose both those tracts. And in the sermon found nothing that seemed to relate any thing at all to this matter; so that I believe there must be some mistake. Also in the first chapter of the book cited, there is nothing at all of the matter. That which I guess the most probable to be meant, is chap. ii. where Chrysostom's mother, earnestly entreating him not to leave her, recounts to him the great troubles she had undergone about his estate and education in her widowhood; and yet that she had kept herself a widow, and had gone through the brunt of all these fatigues; 'In 'the first place,' says she, 'being assisted by the 'help [or influence] that is from above, ὑπὸ τῆς 'ἄνωθεν βοηθουμένη ῥοπῆς· and then also the com-'fort which I had by the continual sight and com-'pany of you, my son, did not a little contribute 'to it.'

But here is nothing but what might be properly said by a Christian woman in reference to those times in which she had been a heathen: since God almighty employs his providence in relieving the necessities not only of Christians, but of all men and other creatures that know him not. She does not mention in all that long speech any praying to God, or use of his word, that she had made in those days; which to me is a greater proof that she was not at that time a Christian, than the foresaid words are that she was.

At least here is nothing that can nigh countervail the argument from the foresaid words of Libanius concerning this John's heathen profession at first, rehearsed by Sozomen. And Sozomen is a

good witness in this case, having lived part of his time together with Chrysostom. For he had wrote several books before that history; and he had completed that history in 440. So that he must have been born before St. Chrysostom died, which was anno 407. CHAP. II Year after the apostles. 340. 407.

Sect. 9. Of St. Ambrose.

There is no account of his parents being Christians at the time of his birth.

I. St. Ambrose's case is just the same with that of Nectarius. And he himself, after he had heard how Nectarius was chosen bishop of Constantinople, said, 'I was utterly unwilling to be ordained; and, 'when there was no remedy, desired that at least 'my ordination might be delayed for a longer time. 'But the rule of the church could not prevail; the 'force of the people prevailed. Yet the western 'bishops have approved of my ordination by their 'consent; and the eastern by their doing the same 'thing[1].' The rule or prescription that he speaks of is that mentioned by St. Paul. 1 Tim. iii. 6, which canon it seems the people would by force have to be dispensed with, when they had an extraordinary opinion of a man.

He was a layman, and was governor under Valentinian the emperor, of some provinces of Gallia Cisalpina: and when the people of Milan (which was one of the cities under his government) were, after the death of Auxentius their bishop, in a tumult about choosing another, he came to keep the peace, and persuaded them to quietness and concord. He spoke to them so handsomely and so gravely,

[1] Epist. 82. ad Vercellens. Eccles. Epist. 63. edit Benedict.

CHAP. III. that all parties agreed on a sudden to pitch upon him for bishop [m]. He opposed it what he could: but they sent to the emperor for his consent, because he was at that time the emperor's minister. And he said, 'He was very glad that the men he 'chose for governors were so well liked by the 'people, that they would choose the same for bi-'shops.' So he gave his consent, but yet he would not determine the choice, as being a thing out of his sphere. He ordered the bishops then present in or about the city to direct the choice of the people, who continued resolute for Ambrose. But Ambrose was not as yet baptized. He received baptism at the hands of Simplicianus [n], and within eight days was ordained bishop.

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II. Our business being to inquire why he was not baptized in infancy; the antipædobaptists would have it that he was born of Christian parents: and some of them stick not to say, that Paulinus in his life says he was. But Paulinus does not say so. What he says of his father is this, that he was a nobleman of Rome, and governor of Gallia. But he was the less likely to be a Christian for that: the senate and great men of Rome being the last body of men in the empire that came over to the Christian faith. Insomuch that a long time after this, when St. Ambrose was an old man, Valentinian the second had much ado to withstand the attempt made by the senate to bring again into fashion the heathen worship. So says St. Ambrose

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[m] Paulinus in vita. [Ambrosii, apud Op. tom. ii. Append. edit. Benedict.] Rufinus, Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 11. Socr. lib. iv. c. 30. Sozomen. [lib. vi. c. 24.] Theodoret. lib. iv. c. 6.

[n] Augustin. Confess. lib. viii. c. 2.

at his funeral, 'Before his death he refused to grant 'the privileges of the temples, when such men stood 'up for them, of whom he might well be afraid. 'Whole crowds of heathen men came about him; 'the senate petitioned. He was not afraid for the 'sake of Christ to incur the displeasure of men[o].' And if one may guess by circumstances, he lost the empire and his life in this quarrel; Eugenius the usurper, that prevailed against him, having all the heathen party on his side: who restored those heathen altars which Valentinian had denied, and set up temples of Jupiter[p]. And Argobastes had threatened, if he overcame Theodosius, to make the great church at Milan (the St. Paul's of that city) 'a 'stable for his horses[q];' because they would not communicate with Eugenius, nor receive his offering, as being an usurper. But better news came to town quickly, as I shewed before in the history of Valentinian[r].

CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

I bring in this to shew, that when Paulinus makes St. Ambrose's father to have been a great man at Rome; that is no argument that he was a Christian. But indeed Paulinus, or whoever wrote that life, (for Erasmus[s] takes it to be a forgery of some late monk, as I observed before,) knew so little of his father's concerns, that he did not know his name. He makes his name to be Ambrosius, because the son's was so: but his name, if his son

[o] Orat. in obitum Valentiniani. [Op. tom. ii. p. 1173, &c. ed. Benedict.]

[p] Paulinus in vita Ambrosii, [Op. tom. ii. Append. edit. Benedict.]

[q] August. de Civitate Dei, lib. v. c. 26. [r] Sect. iii. §. 3.

[s] Censura prefixa operibus Ambrosii.

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c.III. knew better[t], was Symmachus. Though the life-
after writers copying one out of another, do to this day
o- call him Ambrosius. He seems to have died while
St. Ambrose was young.

But at the time when St. Ambrose was come t
man's estate, Paulinus does indeed say that hi
mother was a widow, and dwelt at Rome, and wa
then a Christian: if that would avail any thing t
prove that her husband or she were so formerl
when he was born.

III. On the contrary, a strong proof that th
were not, is that which he says of himself, that
was not brought up in the bosom of the churc
For in his second book *De Pœnitentia*, cap.
speaking of his own unworthiness, and unfitness
be a bishop, he says it will be said of him, 'E
'ille, non in ecclesiæ nutritus sinu,' &c. 'Lo! t
'man that was not brought up in the bosom of t
'church,' &c.

As for what St. Ambrose's own thoughts we
of the necessity of infant-baptism, it appears by
words cited before[u], that he made it a great qu
tion, 'whether a child could be saved without it.'

Sect. 10. Of St. Hierome.

There is no proof to the contrary, but that he
baptized in infancy.

I. St. Hierome, who wrote the lives of sev
ons of note that had been before him, fo
of the ancients that came after him so k
o write his: for that life which was forme
lished with his works is a mere fable. Yet
' wrote a great many occasional letters, wh

[t] ...ros. Orat. in obitum Satyri. [Op. tom. ii. p. 1113, &
...t i. chap. 13. §. 2.

CHAP. III. 'does not confess that there is but one *hypostasis* 'in three *persons*; he is estranged from Christ.'

Year after the apostles.

About these things he writes to Damasus, who
272. had in the mean time been made bishop of Rome[x], desiring to know whether he and the church of Rome (for he is resolved to go by their example) do allow of this word *hypostasis* for person. And also which of the foresaid parties, viz. of Meletius, Paulinus, or Vitalis, they would communicate with: for he would do the same. 'And this I do,' says he, 'inde nunc meæ animæ postulans cibum, unde 'olim Christi vestimenta susceþi. "Desiring now 'food [or instruction] for my soul, from that place 'where I formerly took upon me the garments of 'Christ."'

This letter not procuring, as it seems, an answer so soon as he expected, he writes another, Epist. 58, [16 ed. Bened.] to the same purpose; desiring him with greater importunity to give him his answer. In which he uses the same motive: but expressed in words so just the same, that one gives no light to the other. 'Ego igitur, ut ante jam scripsi, 'Christi vestem in Romana urbe suscipiens,' &c. 'I therefore, who, as I wrote before, took on me 'the garment of Christ in the city of Rome,' &c.

From this place Erasmus[y] raised a conjecture
1412. that he was baptized at Rome. And if so, he could not be baptized in infancy: for he was born at Stridon in Dalmatia; and did not come to Rome till he was big enough to go to the grammar school.

And what Erasmus spoke doubtfully, other fol-

[x] Epist. 57. [5. in edit. Vallarsii.] [y] In vita Hieronymi.

lowing writers of this Father's life, Baronius, Du Pin, Dr. Cave, &c. have (as it happens in relating matters) told as an absolute unquestioned thing[z]. CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

That which Erasmus says is this; 'He means 'his baptism by that taking on him Christ's gar-'ments: for, I think, he does not mean it of his 'receiving priest's orders; but in baptism there 'was a white garment given them.'

He might have been sure enough that he did not mean it of the habit of a priest; for St. Hierome was not as yet ordained priest, when the letter was writ: and when he was ordained, it was not at Rome, but at Antioch by Paulinus, to whose communion Damasus had it seems advised him. 378.

II. But there was another sort of habit or garment, which he had then already put on, and which he knew to be very much valued by Damasus, whose acquaintance he now sought, and which he probably took upon him at Rome, (for he took it on him in his younger years[a], and it was at Rome that he spent those,) and that was the habit of a monk, which he then wore when he wrote that letter. And it is a great deal more likely that he means that, than the albes which were worn but a few days. Especially since neither he, nor, I think, any other author, among all that variety of expressions which they use for denoting baptism, do ever use that phrase of *receiving the garments of Christ*. Because the ordinary Christians did not use, for constant wearing, any particular garment as a badge

[z] [See likewise the same asserted and defended by his last editor Vallarsius, in the life prefixed to vol. xi. of his works, chap. 3. p. 17—19.]

[a] See §. 5.

CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

of their religion. But the monks and virgins that had professed perpetual virginity, did at that time (as has been usual ever since) wear a peculiar habit, as a token of their profession.

Of which if any one doubt, it must be one that has never read any thing in St. Hierome: for he, being given to an overweening opinion of that way, mentions it with great eulogiums on every turn. And as he calls the persons, *servos Christi*, and *Christo sacratos*, 'servants of Christ,' and 'consecrated to Christ:' and the virgins, *virgines Dei*, 'God's virgins,' (as if married people did not belong to God or Christ at all:) so, what is most to our purpose, he commonly calls that peculiar sort of coat that the virgins or nuns wore, *Christi tunicam*, 'the coat or garment of Christ.' And the veil, *flammeum Christi*, 'the veil of Christ.' Of each of which I will give one instance.

In his *epitaphium*, or funeral oration, in praise of Paulla[b], he recounts how desirous she had been in her lifetime that her children, and those that belonged to her, should take on them that habit and profession of renouncing the world, and leading a single life, as she had done that of a widow; and how she had in great measure her desire: for besides that Eustochium her daughter was then a professed virgin, her granddaughter also, by her only son Toxotius, being then a child, was, by her parents, *Christi flammeo reservata*, 'designed to 'wear the veil of Christ.'

And in his letter to Eustochium[c], the subject whereof is, *de virginitate servanda*, to exhort her to continue constant and unstained in her purpose

[b] Epist. 27. [108. ed. Vallars.] [c] Epist. 22. [22.]

of perpetual virginity, he says, 'It is not fitting, CHAP. III.
'when one has taken hold of the plough, to look Year after the apostles.
'back; nor being in the field, to return home;' 'nec post Christi tunicam ad tollendum aliud vestimentum tecto descendere:' 'nor after one has put 'on the coat of Christ, to come down from the roof 'to take any other garment.'

Since these expressions are the very same with those that he used before of himself; it is probable that those also are to be understood of the monk's habit: or at least, it is not at all necessary that they must be understood of his baptism at Rome. And if they be not, then there remains no kind of ground to doubt of his being baptized at Stridon in infancy, as other Christian children were. For neither Erasmus, nor any of those that have followed him, have brought any other proof but these words; and had it not been for them, no man had ever had such a surmise.

III. Baronius does indeed say, that 'after he 'was baptized, he presently reformed his life, which 'before he had led in some lewdness: and whereas 'he had lost the first virginity, he kept undefiled 'that which he calls the second, which is after 'baptism[d].'

If this were true, or could be proved, the question were at an end. But there seems to be no more ground for it than that Baronius, having first taken for granted from Erasmus' conjecture that he was baptized at man's age, thought it more decent to lay that fornication, of which he is known to be guilty, rather before his baptism than after.

The tract of St. Hierome to which he refers for

[d] Ad ann. 372.

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the proof of this, is his 'Apology made for his 'books that he had wrote against Jovinian.' In which there is indeed mention of those 'two sorts 'of virginity,' and there is also a confession of his own loss of virginity. But it is in several clauses or paragraphs that he mentions these two things; and not so as to affirm, or intimate that he could claim, either of the said sorts of virginity himself. I think not; yet it may be proper to lay before the reader the places themselves.

He had been accused by a great many, that in the said books against Jovinian he had so excessively commended virginity, that he had in some expressions represented all marriage as sinful; for which accusation he had indeed given too much occasion. Yet he vindicates and explains the places excepted against as well as he can. And then says,

'This therefore I protest, and make it my last 'declaration, that I did not then condemn mar-'riage, nor do now condemn it. Virginity I do 'extol to the sky; not that I am possessed of it, but 'that I the more admire a thing that I myself have 'not. It is an ingenuous and modest confession to 'commend highly that in others which one has not 'one's self. Must not I, because being of a gross 'body I am fain to go on the ground, admire that 'faculty that the birds have of flying in the air; 'and envy the pigeon, which

'Radit iter liquidum, celeres neque commovet alas.'
'With stretched out wings glides through the yielding sky?'

'Let no man deceive himself: nor let him undo 'himself by hearkening to a soothing flatterer. The 'first virginity is that which is from one's birth: 'the second is that which is from one's second

'birth. It is none of my saying, it is an old rule: CHAP. III.
'*No man can serve two masters, the flesh and the* Year after the apostles.
'*spirit. The flesh lusteth against the spirit, and* '*the spirit against the flesh. These are contrary* '*one to the other, that we cannot do the things we* '*would.* When any thing in my book seems 'severe, regard not my words, but the scripture 'from which the words are taken. Christ is a 'virgin. The mother of our virgin Lord is a vir-'gin,' &c.

Here, after he had confessed and apologized for himself, he passes to the other theme of commending virginity, and shewing the inconveniences of an incumbered and secular state. Here is nothing affirmed that he himself had either of the two sorts of virginity. And if any one judge, as Baronius seems to have done, that the chain of thought leads one to think he meant so; that conjecture will be much overbalanced by what he says plainly and expressly of his own case in another place[e], where he speaks of his ill life, and aggravates the guilt of it as being the defiling of his baptism. For commenting on that expression of Isaiah concerning himself, that he was *a man of unclean lips*, he says, 'He as being a just man had sinned only in 'word, and therefore had only unclean lips, not a 'foul conscience. But I, as using my eyes to lust, 'and being offended by my hand, and sinning by 'my foot, and all my limbs, have every thing un-'clean. And because having been once baptized 'with the Spirit, I have defiled my garments again;

[e] Explanatio Visionis Isaiæ, Epist. 142. [Ep. 18. sect. 11. ed. Vallars.]

CHAP. III. 'I deserve the second baptism, which is that of 'fire.'

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It was some great and mortal sin that he speaks of, (for they do not use to speak so of sins of daily incursion,) and we read of no such that he was guilty of, but his fornication. His words also are such as to particularize that.

And besides, he professes in a great many places[f], (in the foresaid letter to Damasus for one,) that he undertook the monk's life, as a state of voluntary penance for his sins; whereas they that in those times were baptized in their adult age, would have been counted greatly to undervalue the grace of baptism, if they had thought any such thing necessary for the sins they had committed before. They always speak of baptism as giving a person a free, total, and absolute discharge from all guilt of sin, original or actual, before that time.

IV. One thing that will stick as an objection in the minds of those that are acquainted with the ecclesiastical discipline of that age, is this; that if he had been baptized in infancy, or any time before his fornication; that sin being after his baptism, would have rendered him incapable of holy orders. 225. 205. 214. Because the canons of that time, those of Nice[g], those of Eliberis[h], and those of Neocæsarea[i], as also *Can. Apostol.* 61. (*als.* 53.) do enact, that if any one after his baptism did fall into fornication, or any other of the great crimes; such a man, though he might by penance be restored to lay-communion, must never be ordained to the holy functions. And so strict it was, that if such an

[f] Epist. 61, 58, &c. [16.] [g] Can. 9, 10. [h] Can. 30. [i] Can 9, 10.

one were ordained by mistake, his crimes not being known; when they came afterward to be known, he was to be deposed by the Nicene canon: but the Neocæsarean admits him to continue in the name, and some part of the office; but not to offer, as they called it, i. e. to consecrate the holy elements. And this they will have to be observed, 'because 'as the words of the Nicene canon are) the holy 'church does in all things keep to that which is 'blameless,' or, without scandal. But as for heathens, or men unbaptized, they judged that no sin whatever committed in that state was to be an impediment of their promotion after they came to be baptized. In a word, they reckoned that penance, or a long course of repentance, would cure a mortal sin, but so as to leave a scar. But that baptism did perfectly wash off all the stain and discredit of sins committed before it. So that St. Hierome's being ordained presbyter (as we said before he was) by Paulinus, will make an argument that his baptism was after his fornication.

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But then they that know that the canons ran thus, know also that the practice was not always so strict and regular as the canon: but that, on the contrary, these and some other such strict rules were frequently dispensed with in the case of such men as came afterward to be of great merit or abilities, which the church could not well want: and that St. Hierome was, without controversy, the most learned and best skilled in interpreting the scripture of any man then living; and also was a great favourite of pope Damasus, whose interest was great in all the church.

And besides, an observation which retorts the

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force of this argument strongly to the other side, is this; that these canons had in great measure their force upon St. Hierome. For he not only protested, when he was made presbyter, as he tells us himself[k], that if Paulinus who ordained him, 'meant 'thereby to take him out of his state of monachism, '[or penance,] that he would not so accept it;' but also, after he was ordained, refused, out of a deep humility and sense of his sin, to execute the priestly office, at least in the principal parts thereof. Of which there are these proofs:

1. That in all his letters and works one finds no mention or instance of his acting in that office. Of this I am no further confident, than that having taken notice as I read, I remember none.

2. That Epiphanius affirms this of him, and of Vincentius, another monk that had been ordained. The occasion was this. Epiphanius had, in a case which he judged to be of necessity, ordained Paulinianus, St. Hierome's younger brother, priest; though the place in which he did it was out of his own diocese. Being blamed for this encroachment by John bishop of Jerusalem, he makes this apology[l]; 'Though no man ought to go beyond his own 'measure; yet Christian charity, in which there is 'no guile, is to be preferred before all. Nor should 'you consider what is done; but at what time, and 'in what manner, and for what reasons, and upon 'whom, the thing was done. For when I saw that

[k] Epist. 61. contra errores Joannis Hierosol. [This epistle, or treatise, is removed from its place by Vallarsius, and printed with others of similar argument in tom. ii.—See the passage quoted, Op. ii. p. 452. sect. 41.]

[l] Epist. ad Joann. Hierosol. 60. [Ep. 51. ed. Vallars.]

'there was a great number of holy brethren in the CHAP. III.
'monastery; and the holy presbyters Hierome and Year after the apostles.
'Vincent, by reason of their modesty and humility
'would not execute the offices proper for their title,
'nor labour in that part of the ministry, in which
'consists the chief salvation of Christians,' &c.

His being made priest after his sin, is not so great a proof of his baptism coming between, as those severe censures of himself are, that his sin was after his baptism. He that in that age should have spoken of his sins committed before baptism, as he does of his [m], 'I came into the fields and wil-
'derness, that their bewailing *durescentia* [n] *pec-*
'*cata*, my sins that lie so hard upon me, I might
'move the pity of Christ towards me,' would have been censured to derogate from that article of the creed, 'I believe one baptism for the remission of
'sins.' And he himself says in other places [o], 'all
'fornications and lewdnesses of the most scandalous
'nature, impiety against God, parricide or incest,
'&c., are washed away in this Christian fountain
'or laver.'

In how different a strain does St. Austin confess his sins, which, though much greater than St. Hierome's, viz. a continued course of fornication with several harlots, yet because his baptism came after them, he says thus of them [p]; 'What praise
'ought I to give to the Lord that my memory re-
'counts these things, and yet my soul is in no
'terror for them?'

[m] Epist. 61. [see above.]
[n] [Vallarsius reads *adolescentiæ*.]
[o] Epist. ad Oceanum de unius uxoris viro. [Ep. 69.]
[p] Confess. lib. iii. cap. 7.

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V. I said he entered into a monk's life young (when I was shewing that it was probable he took the habit at Rome). He himself says so in several places [q].

The vulgar reader is not to imagine that this monastic life was then of the same sort with that, which is now for the most part in use in the church of Rome. On the contrary, the first institution and primitive practice of it was commendable. It is time, and the corruption of the age, and superstitions added to it, and the great revenues that have been settled on the monasteries, that have perverted it. They professed virginity; and they did accordingly with wonderful hardships of diet, lodging, &c., keep under the body. They sold all they had, and gave it to the poor. They renounced all the affairs of secular life, but at the same time used daily labour for their living: they had not then the fat of the land; nor one politic head, whose interest they were to promote. If any one endeavoured to live at ease, or indulge himself, he was not counted a monk. St. Hierome speaks of some few that he had seen of this sort [r]. 'I have seen,' says he, 'some that after they have renounced the world, '*restimentis duntaxat*, in their garments, or habit 'only, and by a verbal profession, not in deeds; 'have altered nothing of their former way of living: 'they are richer, rather than poorer, than before: 'they have as much attendance of servants,' &c. So that we see all monks, good or bad, wore the garments of a monk.

Yet as commendable as it was in the practice

[q] Epist. 2. [52.] item 62. [82], &c.

[r] Epist. 4. ad Rusticum. [Ep. 125.]

then; St. Hierome has been under some censure, for his excessive urging it on people; not only in his own time, but ever since; and not only among protestants, but among those of the church of Rome that are any thing impartial. Mr. Du Pin, who is highly to be valued for that quality, says of him, 'concerning virginity and the monk's life, he often 'speaks so, as if he would have one think they are 'necessary for salvation[s].' CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

Where shall one meet, even among the late monks, an expression in praise of this sort of life more exorbitant than one that he has in his letter to Eustochium, a lady that professed that state? Where addressing himself to Paulla her mother, he says, 'Your daughter has procured you a great benefit: you 'are now become God's mother-in-law,' *socrus Dei esse cœpisti*. This is something worse than calling the habit, *the garments of Christ*. He means, that the daughter, by professing a religious virginity, was become the spouse of Christ; and so the mother must be his mother-in-law. But such allegories, carried too far, border upon impiety. They are not to be so easily pardoned to a man of a cool head: but St. Hierome having had the spleen to a high degree, must be allowed some favour in the censure of his expressions. Those men when they are in, at commending or disparaging any thing, are carried to speak more than they mean at their sedate times.

VI. But it was not during the times of Damasus, that St. Hierome fell under any censure for this his over-lashing: but afterward, in the times of Siri-

[s] Nouv. Bibl. tom. iii. p. 1.

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cius. Damasus had been so much of the same temper, that it is likely he approved of him the better for it; and that one reason of his using those high-flown expressions was, to ingratiate himself with him. And we find him, in his writings, during this later popedom, frequently appealing to the times of Damasus. 'I wrote,' says he, 'while Damasus of 'blessed memory lived, a book against Helvidius, 'of the perpetual virginity of the blessed Mary: in 'which I had occasion, for the setting forth the ad-'vantage of virginity, to say many things of the 'inconveniences of marriage. Did that excellent 'man, and learned in the scriptures, that virgin 'doctor of the church which is a virgin, find any 'fault with that discourse? And in my book to 'Eustochium, I said some things harder yet con-'cerning marriage; and yet nobody was offended 'at it. For Damasus, being a lover of chastity, 'heard my commendations of virginity with a greedy 'ear[t].'

This last is the book which he complains is now *lapidatus*, "stoned;" or generally condemned.

He says also in another place[u], 'that Damasus 'did himself write in commendation of virginity, 'both in prose and verse.'

It is the less wonder, that in letters between these two, that did so magnify this state of life, the habit, or garment, by which the continent life of a monk was professed, should be called *the garment of Christ.*

And if what I have produced, be sufficient to

[t] Apolog. pro libro contra Jovinianum. [Epist. 50. (Vallars. 48.) sect. 17.]

[u] Epist. 2. ad Nepotian. [Ep. 52.]

make this probable, then I have cleared St. Hie- CHAP. III.
rome's parents of an imputation that has been laid Year after the apostles.
on them ever since Erasmus' time, even by learned men: and which St. Hierome himself would have counted a heinous one. For when he declares 'how 'sinful it would be, if any parents that are Chris- 'tians should suffer their children to die unbap- 'tized;' (as I have shewn he does[x];) he must judge that his parents had run a very sinful hazard, if they had let him continue so long, and then take so long a journey, before they had procured him baptism. And then also the picture which they have lately made in the chapel dedicated to this saint, in the church of the Invalids in France, representing his baptism at adult age, will prove a mistake.

Sect. 11. Of St. Austin.

His father was a heathen, when this his son was born: and a long time after.

I. There is no instance of this nature more commonly urged, than that of St. Austin: and yet none that is a more palpable mistake.

That he was about thirty-three years old when 388.
he was baptized, is clear: he himself gives a large account of it in his book of Confessions[y]. As he observed[z], that that book was in his lifetime more generally read than any other of his works; so it has happened ever since. That, of all other, having had the fortune to be translated into many vulgar languages, every body has observed the story of his baptism: and it has cast scruples into the heads of many unlearned readers, to think, if infant-baptism were then practised, why he was not baptized in infancy.

[x] Part i. ch. 15. §. 1. [y] Lib. ix. c. 6. [z] Retractat. lib. ii. c. 6.

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II. As for his parents: Possidius, who a little after his death wrote his life, says in the beginning thereof; that he was 'born of creditable and Chris-'tian parents.' So here matters are brought to a fair issue. St. Austin, in his books which I quoted[a], makes us to understand, that he never knew, heard, or read, of any Christian that was an antipædobaptist; and Pelagius his adversary, in the question of original sin, whose interest it was to have found some if there had been any, confesses, that he knew of none. And yet now it seems St. Austin's own father was one.

And this must have passed for current; if St. Austin himself had not given us a truer, or at least a more particular account of his parents than Possidius has done. But this he does in the forementioned book of his Confessions. Only there is this difference; that the story of his baptism being set down at large, is taken notice of by every body: but his father's want of Christianity being mentioned but briefly, and by the by in one or two places, has escaped the notice of many readers.

Marshall, in his Defence of Infant Baptism[b], or rather a friend of his, whom he made use of to search into matters of antiquity; 'having himself,' as he there says, 'but just leisure enough to look 'into these authors now and then:' he was taken up, I suppose, with much higher authors; Calvin, Twisk, &c. But his friend has cleared this matter very well: which was easy to do. He has produced the particular places, where St. Austin tells us, that his father was no baptized Christian, nor so much

[a] Part i. ch. 19. §. 17 and 30. [b] Pag. 59. [edit. 4to. 1646.]

as a catechumen, nor did believe in Christ, till a good while after he [St. Austin] was born. Which are these: CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

In the first book of his Confessions, ch. xi. speaking of the time when he was a child, (about eight or nine years old, one must guess by the story,) he says of his father; *Ille nondum crediderat:* 'he 'did not yet at that time believe.' 263.

In the second book, ch. iii. speaking to God of the state of his father and mother, at that time when he was, as himself mentions, sixteen years old, he says, 'In my mother's breast thou hadst al- 270. 'ready begun thy temple, and made an entrance for 'thy dwelling-place. But he [my father] was yet 'but a catechumen, and that but newly.'

In the ninth book, chap. ix. reckoning up in a speech to God Almighty the good deeds of his mother, who was then lately dead: he says, 'Finally, 289. 'she also gained over to thee her husband in the 'latter end of his life. And had no more occasion 276. 'to bewail that [crossness and ill nature] in him 'after he was *fidelis*, a baptized Christian; which 'she had endured in him before he was so.'.

Yet notwithstanding all this, the life-writers copying out of Possidius, and one out of another, do to this day write him *parente utroque Christiano natum*, 'born of parents both Christians.' If he, or they, mean that his parents were both Christians at the time of his birth, it is a plain mistake. But if they mean that they became so before they died; it is true, but ought to have been explained so: at least by the modern writers, because of the occasion of mistake that it lays in the way of the antipædobaptists, of which there was formerly no fear.

CHAP. III. Year after the apostles. 254.

His mother indeed was a Christian (in heart and belief at least: whether baptized or not, we are not certain) at the time of his birth. But what could a woman do against the will of such an imperious and choleric husband, as St. Austin in many places[c] declares his father to have been in those times? She did what she could or dared: he says of himself[d], 'I was signed with the sign of Christ's cross, 'and was seasoned with his salt,' (ceremonies then used by Christians on their children,) 'even from 'the womb of my mother, who greatly trusted in 'thee.' But so solemn a thing as baptism she could not, or dared not, it seems, procure to be administered against her husband's will. For it was not a thing[e] then used to be huddled up in a private parlour, or in a woman's bedchamber, or without godfathers, &c., but had many solemn circumstances, and was performed by putting the child into the water in presence of the congregation, &c., except in some particular cases of extreme haste and necessity.

It was contrary to her husband's inclination, that she taught her child, as she nursed him, the principles of the Christian religion. As he plainly intimates when he says, 'So I then believed, and so 'did all our family, except my father only; who did 'not however so far overrule the power of my mo-'ther's godly love toward me, but that I believed 'in Christ, though he did not[f].'

St. Paul persuades a believing wife to stay with an unbelieving husband[g], partly for the hope there

[c] Confess. lib. ix. c. 9, &c.
[d] Ibid. lib. i. c. 11.
[e] See part i. ch. 15. sect. 7. §. 3.
[f] Confess. lib. i. c. 11.
[g] 1 Cor. vii.

is of gaining [or converting] him: and partly, because the unbelieving party is seldom so obstinate or averse to Christianity, but that the children are allowed to be made holy [or baptized] into it. Which I shewed[h] to be the sense which the most ancient writers give to his words. But still this must be understood to hold for the most part, not always. There has been seldom known any husband that would yield so little to the desires or petitions of a wife as this man would, while he was a heathen. He used her not as a companion, but as an absolute servant; even by the account which the son gives of the father after his death. CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

In a word, St. Austin's case was the same with that of Timothy, whose mother was a Jewess; and yet his father being a Greek, i. e. a heathen, and probably a hater of the Jewish religion, as St. Austin's father was of the Christian, he had not been circumcised: as appears, Acts xvi. 1, 3. *Him Paul took and circumcised him, because of the Jews that were in those quarters: for they knew all that his father was a Greek:* and therefore probably would be inquisitive whether he had been circumcised or not.

Indeed when St. Austin was a child not yet big enough to go to school, but capable to express his mind, and it happened that he fell ill of a sudden pain in his stomach, so violent that he was like to die: and he had, as he tells himself[i], 'the motion 'of mind, and the faith to beg earnestly of his 'mother to get him baptized:' she in that case would have ventured to do it, and did in great haste

[h] Part i. ch. 19. §. 19. item ch. 11. §. 11.

[i] Lib. i. cap. 11.

CHAP. III. bestir herself in providing for it. And it had been done, if he had not quickly mended of his pain. But there are several things considerable in this case. 1. It was a case of great extremity: it must be done now or never. 2. It was at his own desire, so that his father could not blame his mother. 3. In that case a private and clinical baptism was sufficient. 4. It is probable that his father was now mollified in that averseness that he had for the Christian religion, in which he himself, in a few years after, thought fit to become a catechumen, or hearer.

Year after the apostles.

III. Afterward the scene altered in the family of
371. Patritius, St. Austin's father. For when he began to believe in Christ, and to fear God; his son Austin began to be estranged from religion, and all good inclinations, by the heat of lust and fornication[j]. And when his father now joined with his mother in persuading him to associate himself with the Christians, and of all the sorts of them to join with the catholic church; this advice had no effect upon
373. him at that time. For he quickly after ran into the blasphemous sect of the Manichees[k], who derided all baptism and the scriptures, and were no more Christians than the Mahometans are now.

Yet it had its effect afterward. For twelve or thirteen years after, when his father had now been dead a good while, and he disliking the Manichees, turned a sceptic, or seeker, or (as they now call them) a deist, not knowing what religion to be of; he remembered the advice of his parents, which he had formerly despised: and 'I resolved,' says he, 'to be a catechumen in the catholic church, which

[j] Lib. ii. cap. 1, 2, &c. [k] Lib. iii. cap. 6.

'had been recommended to me by my parents, so 'long till some certainty should shew itself to my 'mind which way I were best to take[l].' And this proved an occasion of his final conversion. CHAP. III. Year after the apostles. 287.

I the rather recite these words here, their meaning being explained by the circumstances: because taken by themselves they might strengthen that opinion, (which has been proved a mistake,) that his father was a Christian when this his son was born.

Sect. 12. Of Monica, Adeodatus, Alypius, and some others.

They do none of them make instances for this purpose.

I. Some (I think one or two) have named Monica, St. Austin's mother, among their instances; but without any kind of ground: since there is no knowing whether she were born of Christian parents, and baptized in infancy; or of heathens, and baptized at years of discretion. She had never been known if she had not been mother to St. Austin. Nobody mentions her, but he: and he says nothing, that I remember, of the state of her parents; but a great deal of her goodness and her care of him.

II. Adeodatus, St. Austin's son, begotten in fornication, who being fifteen years old[m], was baptized together with him, is likewise mentioned without any reason. St. Austin was a Manichee when this son was born to him: and they condemned all 273. Christian baptism of infants or others, as I shall shew by and by[n], concerning them and some other

[l] Lib. v. c. ult. item lib. vi. c. 11.
[m] Confess. lib. ix. c. 6.
[n] Chap. 5. §. 3.

CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

sects. It were absurd to expect, that he should have procured him to be baptized before he himself had renounced that opinion, and thought fit to be baptized himself. He says of him[o]; 'We [I and 'Alypius] joined him with us of the same age of 'ourselves in thy grace, [the grace of baptism,] to 'be educated in thy discipline, and were baptized,' &c. As Ishmael was circumcised, so this youth was baptized, the same day with his father: which was at Easter, anno 388.

388. III. When I have spoken of Alypius, whom St. Austin mentions as baptized together with him; I hope I have done. It is only in compliance to Mr. Tombes, that he need be mentioned at all. He had observed that he was baptized when he was adult, and so makes him an instance for this purpose[p], without giving any proof or pretence of it, that his parents were Christians. He might in a week's time have collected a hundred such instances of persons baptized at man's age, whose parents are utterly unknown, as Alypius' are: only people have generally concluded that they were heathens, because they did not baptize their children.

And there happen to be also some more particular proofs in his case. As that, before his conversion, he abhorred or scorned the name of Christ: as St. Austin gives us to understand, when after having given God thanks for his grace in recovering him himself, he adds; 'Thou didst also subdue 'Alypius the brother of my soul, to the name of

[o] Confess. lib. ix. cap. 6.

[p] Exercitation [about Infant-baptism, 4to. 1646. p. 28. also an Examen of Marshall's sermon, 4to. 1645.] p. 14.

'thy only-begotten, our Lord and Saviour Jesus 'Christ, which he before took in disdain to have 'inserted in our letters[q].' CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

And also that he was so ignorant of what the Christians believed or held concerning the person of Jesus Christ. For having heard some Christians maintain that he as man had no soul, but that his divinity was in the stead of a soul to his body; and thinking this to be the common opinion of the Christians, and judging it to be absurd; 'he was,' as St. Austin says[r], 'the more hardly brought over 'to the Christian religion. But afterwards under-'standing this to be the mistake of the Apolli-'narian heretics, he congratulated the Catholic 'faith,' &c. So improbable is it that he had Christian parents.

IV. There is one Den[s] an antipædobaptist writer, and Danvers from him[t], that mentions a great many more names yet, viz. Pancratius, Pontius, Nazarius, Thecla, Luigerus, Erasma Tusca, the three sons of Leonilla. But they do but just mention them: and if the reader would know who they are, and upon what grounds they are brought in here; he must look to that himself.

For Thecla: if they mean the famous Thecla that is said to be baptized by St. Paul, there is no doubt that she was baptized in her adult age: but there is as much probability of St. Paul's parents having been Christians, as of hers. For the rest, nobody

[q] Confess. lib. ix. cap. 4. [r] Ibid. lib. vii. c. 19.

[s] [A treatise of Baptism; wherein that of Believers and that of Infants is examined by the Scriptures; with the history of both out of Antiquity, &c., by John Denne.]

[t] Treatise of Baptism, part i. c. 7. [Cent. iv. p. 63.]

CHAP. III. knows whom they mean: for as some of those names have had several persons called by them, so some have had none at all that I know of.

Year after the apostles.

What I have to add in this second edition to this and the foregoing chapter is, that whereas one Mr. Delaune[u] an antipædobaptist, in a 'Plea for Non-'conformists,' written in king Charles II.'s time, had heaped together a great number of quotations out of modern authors, who had reported the ancient opinions or usages to be, in any respect whatsoever, different from the tenets or usages of the church of England; and among the rest had brought in at p. 11. all that he could rake together against infant-baptism, (taking them, I suppose, out of Danvers,) viz. the sayings of bishop Taylor, Grotius, Lud. Vives, Daillé, Dr. Field, Mr. Baxter, Walafrid Strabo, Boemus; which among several others I recited in the last chapter: and whereas there were none of these quotations about infant-baptism, or the other subjects, but had been considered and answered by learned men of the church, (though not in any particular answer to Delaune's pamphlet, but on other occasions,) and consequently, unless the nonconformists could produce some new matter, there seemed to have been said all that was necessary to restore peace and union: now the other day, a certain busy writer, for dissension, instead of offering any new thing, reprinted Delaune's[u] book, with a

[u] [De Laune's Plea for the Nonconformists; shewing the true state of their case, &c., in a letter to Dr. B. Calamy, upon his sermon called 'Scrupulous Conscience:' to which is added a parallel scheme of the Pagan, Papal, and Christian rites and ceremonies. With a narrative of the remarkable tryal and sufferings underwent for writing, printing, and publishing here-

pompous preface, as a piece that never was answered, 'a finished piece,' &c., which called for an answer from the churchmen. CHAP. III. Year after the apostles.

As for infant-baptism; there is not one word or quotation in it, but what had been fully answered: nor, as I think, on any other subject. Now at this rate, we must never be at quiet; if after objections fully proposed, and all of them publicly answered, the method be, instead of a fair reply, to reprint in a challenging way the very same objections again.

The reason I have to think that he took all the quotations he has against infant-baptism, out of Danvers, is, because where Danvers has mixed any forgery of his own with the quotation, there Delaune has done the like. As they do both quote Grotius in Matt. xix. 14. in the same words, but forged ones: where they make him say, 'Infant-'baptism for many hundred years was not ordinary 'in the Greek church;' and where they make him speak of Constantine as an instance against infant-baptism; which he was never ignorant enough to do.

of; by Thomas Delaune, who died in Newgate during his imprisonment for this book. Printed twenty years ago; but being seized by the messenger of the press, was afterwards burnt by the common hangman: and is now reprinted from the author's original copy; and published by a protestant dissenter, who was the author's fellow-prisoner at the time of his death, for the cause of Non-conformity.—4to. London, 1704. p. 66. There appears to be a second reprint, 12mo. 1712.]

CHAP. IV.

Of the Church of the ancient Britons. And of some ancient Sects, viz. the Novatians and the Donatists; which are by some thought to have been Antipædobaptists. And of the Arians.

CHAP. IV. Year after the apostles.

§. I. ABOUT twenty-six years ago, a certain antipædobaptist[x] writer lighted upon an argument to prove, as he thought, the ancient Christians in Britain, before the coming in of the English, to have been against infant-baptism. It is an evidence how great mistakes may arise from the misprinting of two or three words in a book; and that, in a book of so little regard as Fabian's Chronicle. The account of the matter is this:

631. Venerable Bede wrote, in the year 731, the 'Church History of the English nation:' and tells
500. how Austin the Monk, after having made some progress in planting Christianity among the English, made a proposal to the Britons, desiring them to join in communion with him and his new converts, and to assist in converting the English to the Christian faith. But whereas the Britons held and practised rites and traditions, in many things different from those that he then brought from the church of Rome, he insisted that they should leave off their own, and comply with his ceremonies and customs. This they refused. And, after many alterations, he at last made them this final proposal; 'You practise in many things contrary to our cus-'tom, and indeed contrary to the custom of the uni-'versal church. And yet if you will comply with 'me in these three things; that you keep Easter at

[x] Danvers, Treatise of Baptism, part ii. ch. 7.

'the right time: that you perform the office of bap- CHAP. IV.
'tizing (by which we are regenerated unto God) Year after the apostles.
'according to the custom of the holy Roman church
'and the apostolic church; and that you together
'with us do preach the word of the Lord to the
'nation of the English: we will bear patiently, with
'all the other things which you practise contrary
'to our customs. But they answered, that they
'would do none of these things, nor own him for
'their archbishop [y],' &c.

This same passage is related by several others of our English historians in the after-ages, who taking it from Bede relate it to the same sense.

And among the rest, one Fabian [z] (a sheriff or alderman of London in king Henry the Seventh's time, as I take it) wrote a Chronicle of the English history, in English. There are two editions of his 1400.
book, which I have seen in the Oxford library. There may be more: in one of them (which is the first, I know not: I think the titlepage in one was torn) his words are to the same sense as Bede's, being these; at fol. 56. b. 'Then he sayde to them,
'Sen ye woll not assent to my hestes generally, as-
'sent ye to me specially in thre thynges: the firste
'is, that ye kepe Esterday in due fourme and tyme
'as it is ordeygned. The seconde that ye give

[y] Bedæ Eccl. Hist. lib. ii. c. 2.

[z] [The editions of Fabian's Chronicle are as follows:

1. Printed by Pynson, in 1516. fol.
2. —— by W. Rastell, in 1533. fol.
3. —— by W. Bonham, in 1542. fol.
4. —— by J. Kyngston, in 1559. fol.

The passage quoted is found at part i. ch. 119. It is read in full, as given by Wall, in the first and second editions: in the fourth it is curtailed. The third I have not met with.]

CHAP. IV. Year after the apostles.

'Cristendome to the children in the manner that is 'used in the chyrche of Rome. And the thyrde, 'that ye preche unto the Anglis the worde of 'God,' &c.

But in the other, these words 'in the manner that 'is used in the chyrche of Rome' are omitted: so that the condition stands thus, 'that ye give Chris-'tendom to the children.' And this last mentioned edition our author having lighted on, concluded that the British church before these times had not been used to give Christendom to, or baptize children.

But he should have considered, that the account of such a thing should be taken from Bede and the other ancient historians; and not from Fabian: especially since Fabian in his preface acknowledges, (as Mr. Wills says [a], for I did not read that,) that what he relates of the ancient affairs, he has from Bede: and consequently his meaning must be to express Bede's sense: and so that edition first mentioned must be as he meant it, and the omission in the other must have been by mistake, of himself, or the printer.

Fox [b], and other authors that have wrote since Fabian, recite the matter as Bede does.

This argument taken from Fabian is endeavoured to be confirmed by some other collateral ones: of which none is worth the mentioning, but that from Constantine's being born among the Britons, and yet not baptized in infancy. And that is not worth

[a] Infant-Baptism asserted, p. 124. [As Wills' book has the paging misplaced in a singular manner; the numbers running thus, 1—96; 1—40; 97—288: 81—96; 37—159; observe that the passage referred to occurs on signature I i i 2.]

[b] Martyrology, at the year 600.

it neither; considering that very few nowadays believe that he was born in Britain, and none at all but this author, and one more, that his father was a Christian[c]. CHAP. IV. Year after the apostles.

Pelagius was certainly born in Britain. And since he owns, (as I have produced his words[d],) that he 'never heard of any Christian, catholic, or 'sectary, that denied infant-baptism;' it is certain his own countrymen did not.

The man brings this for one of his arguments to prove that the British church must have opposed the baptizing of infants; 'because they so fully 'prized and faithfully adhered to the scriptures, in 'the worship of God, and rejected human tradi-'tions[e], especially all Romish innovations.' &c. If this be any argument, then for certain the pædobaptists' cause is in a bad case.

II. The Novatians and Donatists are also brought in by the same writer, as adversaries of pædobaptism. Though both these parties of men were schismatics, and forsook the communion of the established churches in those times: yet their differences having been rather in points of discipline than of faith, and they having been at some times of the church very numerous, and the time of their flourishing within our limited period of 400 years; an argument from their practice of keeping infants unbaptized would be considerable. But it would be withal a very strange discovery: since there are so many books extant, written at the same time by Cyprian, Eusebius, Optatus, Austin, &c., containing a ventilation of all the disputes between the catholics

[c] See chap. iii. sect. 2. §. 2. [d] Part i. chap. 19. §. 30.

[e] [Danvers' Treatise, part ii. chap. 7. p. 228.]

CHAP. IV. Year after the apostles.

and these men, in which nothing has ever been observed that should intimate that they had any such practice or opinion. For among all the reasons that the Donatists (who rebaptized such as having been baptized by the catholics came afterward over to them) gave, why the baptism of the catholics was null, there is none that lays any blame on their giving it in infancy. But, on the contrary, St. Austin does often make use of the instance of infant-baptism, as granted by them, to overthrow some other errors that they had about baptism.

It would, I say, be a strange discovery to make now. But the proofs brought for it do fail one's expectation. For as for those out of St. Austin against the Donatists, Osiander, Fuller, Bullinger, &c., they are all by Mr. Baxter[f] and Mr. Wills[g] shewn plainly to be nothing to the purpose. And what he would prove out of Austin *de Anima* and Thomas Waldensis, that the dispute between Vincentius Victor and St. Austin was, whether infants ought to be baptized, will appear a great mistake, by reading what I have produced of the opinion of Vincentius in this collection[h]. For it was only whether infants that happened to die unbaptized, might ever enter into the kingdom of heaven.

Yet he quotes some writers, that do indeed say the thing that he would prove. But they are only Sebastian Frank[i], and one Twisk[k]. It is an artifice

[f] More Proofs of Infant-Baptism, part ii §. 2. chap. 4. [p. 240, &c.]

[g] Infant-Baptism reasserted, p. 139.

[h] Part i. chap. 20. §. 2, 3, 4.

[i] [See an account of this author above, at p. 44.]

[k] [See above, p. 44.]

that may take with some very ignorant people, but I believe not approved by the more knowing or candid of his own opinion, to quote for some matter of ancient history, an author that is but of yesterday, and of no note or credit. When a vulgar reader sees such a quotation, he thinks it as good as the best, because he knows not the author: but one of any reading slights it for that reason, because he knows him not. It is this man's way through all his book, to quote for the principal things that are in dispute concerning antiquity, such books as the foresaid Frank and Twisk, and one Mehrning[l], and a book that he calls Dutch Martyrology[m]. They are all, as it seems, Dutch writers of late years, of the antipædobaptists' way: and if they say all that he quotes them for, they say things without any regard whether they be true or false. It is a known rule, that any modern writer affirming any thing of ancient history, without referring to some ancient author, is not at all to be heeded. These men might as well have quoted him, as he them; and it had been a like authority.

CHAP. IV. Year after the apostles.

One shall not see Mr. Baxter in such a passion as he is in this place: to premise to the answers that he gives to the several quotations about these Novatians and Donatists, such sayings as[n], 'Utterly 'false:' 'False again:' 'This is something, were it

[l] [This book, so often quoted by Danvers, under the name of Jacob Merningus' (or Mehrning's) History of Baptism, I have not been able to find.]

[m] [Danvers cites this work as 'The Dutch Martyrology, called '*The Bloody Theatre*; a most elaborate and worthy Collection: 'written in Dutch, by Th. J. Van Braght.' I have never seen it.]

[n] More Proofs, &c. p. 249, &c. and 241, &c.

CHAP. IV. Four after the apostles.

'true; but it is such a kind of falsehood as I must 'not name in its due epithets:' 'Not a word of 'truth:' 'No such matter in that chapter, or the 'whole book:' 'Blush, reader, for such a man:' 'Mr. 'Bagshaw is now quite overdone in the quality of 'untruths,' &c.

I produced in the Collection[o] a canon of a council of Carthage, wherein they decree what is to be done in reference to that question; whether they should admit to any office of the clergy those who in their infancy, before they could judge of the error, had been baptized by the Donatists, and afterward came over to the church. Cassander[p] and Mr. Cobbet[q] had brought this as a proof, that the Donatists, as well as catholics, baptized infants. This writer says[r], 'that is but a supposition at best 'that they might do so.' But I doubt any one else will take it for a plain supposition that they ordinarily did so.

That challenge of St. Austin, and confession of Pelagius, produced before[s], that they never knew nor heard of any heretics or schismatics that were against the baptizing of infants, must be an undeniable proof that neither of these two sects were so: since a considerable body of each of them were re-

[o] Part i. chap. 16. §. 1, 2.

[p] [See Georgius Cassander, De Baptismo Infantium, 8°. Colon. 1563. reprinted in his Opera Omnia, fol Paris. 1616.]

[q] [See 'A just Vindication of the Covenant and Church-estate 'of Children of Church-members; as also of their Right unto 'Baptism. By Thomas Cobbet, teacher of the Church of Lyn 'in New-England.' 4°. London, 1648. p. 296. The passage referred to occurs at p. 291.]

[r] Treat. of Baptism, part ii. chap. 7.

[s] Part i. chap. 19. §. 17 and 30.

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among in those parts where these two men lived: and all their particular opinions were the subject of every day's disputations. And St. Austin, in his book of Sects, wrote a particular of their tenets[1], as well as of all the rest. And yet since my last edition, an antipædobaptist writer, Mr. Davye[2], has raised over again what Danvers had said of the Arians, the Novatians, the Donatists, denying infant-baptism; without having a word to say to the refutation of that pretence by Baxter, Wills, &c. or in my book; which yet he had seen. And hunting further for some antipædobaptists among the ecclesiastics of those times, he had a claim to the Priscillians: who, when they were expiring, left behind them (as I have shewn part I. ch. 19. and a little more fully in a Defence of the book) an eternal anathema against any that should deny infant-baptism, or say the Ave Creed[3].

[redacted]

CHAP. IV. Year after the apostles.

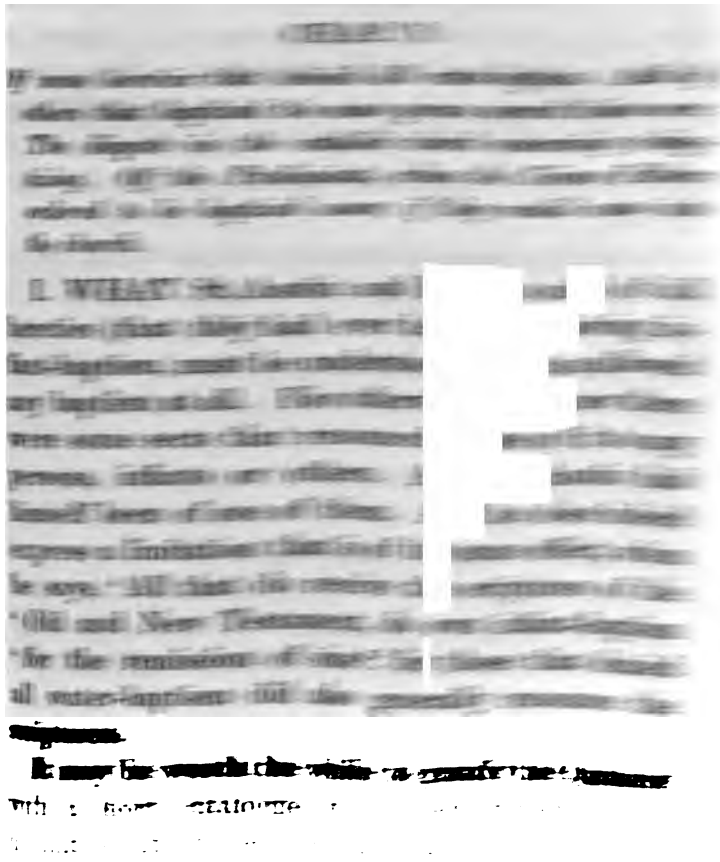
those places where the Arians are called anabaptists; I am persuaded he would have increased the catalogue of his friends with one sect more. I would not have the antipædobaptists claim any acquaintance with so ill company: and therefore do give them an account of the reason why they had that name. It was not for that they had any thing to say against infant-baptism: but because they, as well as the Donatists before them, did use to baptize over again such as came from the catholic church to them; not for that they had been baptized in infancy, (for if they had been baptized at man's age it was all one,) but for that they had received baptism from the catholics, whom the Arians did so hate, that they would not own any baptism given by them to be good. This is evident both from St. Austin, who recites their tenets[w], and also from an oration of St. Ambrose, which I mentioned before, against Auxentius the Arian[x]: where he says, 'Cur igitur rebaptizandos,' &c. 'Why does 'Auxentius say, that the faithful people, who have 'been baptized in the name of the Trinity, must 'be baptized again?' And this is all that the word *anabaptist* signifies; 'one that baptizes over again 'those that have been baptized already.' And therefore those of the antipædobaptists that know the signification of the word, do not own the name: they denying theirs to be rebaptizing.

The instance of the emperor Valens, that I gave before[y], (whom St. Basil exhorted to have his child

[w] De Hæresibus, cap. 49.

[x] [Apud Op. tom. ii. p. 874. sect. 37. edit. Benedict.]

[y] Part i. chap. 12. sect. 9, 10.



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should have been called infidels; and also to some that deserved one not so bad, and should have gone for distracted people.

Of the first sort were the Valentinians, who made use of the name of Christ only to mock and abuse the religion: their own religion being a mixture of idolatry, magic, and lascivious rites. They blasphemed the scriptures as false[a]; and the catholics as carnal; and both, as giving a wrong account of Jesus Christ, of whom they made quite another sort of being.

Of these Irenæus reckons up several sorts, which had their several opinions concerning baptism. I gave a general account of them before[b], out of the 18th [21st of the Benedictine edition] chapter of Irenæus' first book: and here you shall have Irenæus' words.

Having premised, that 'in this sect there are as 'many ἀπολυτρώσεις, redemptions, [or, ways of bap-'tism,] as there are ringleaders,' he adds,

'Some of them dress up a bride-chamber, and 'perform mystical ceremonies with certain profane 'words to those whom they initiate; and call this 'a "spiritual marriage," which they say is made 'according to the likeness of the "heavenly conju-'gations."

'Others bring the party to the water, and as 'they are baptizing use these words: "In the 'name of the unknown Father of all things: in 'the truth the mother of all things: in him that 'came down on JESUS: in the union and redemp-'tion and communion of powers."

'Some, that they may amuse those whom they

[a] Irenæus, lib. iii cap. 2. [b] Part i. chap. 21. §. 2.

CHAP. V. 'redemption [or baptism].' These last, I suppose, will be owned for friends.

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II. Tertullian wrote his book of baptism, that he
100. might put a stop to the heresy that had been set on foot by one Quintilla, a woman preacher, that had been at Carthage a little before; and had, as he says [c], seduced a great many. The main of her preaching was against water-baptism: 'that it was 'needless: that faith alone was sufficient,' &c. She had come out, as he understood, from the sect of the Caians. That sect, as impious as it was in other things [d], did not deny baptism, that we read of. She had, it seems, added that herself. He there largely sets forth the falseness of her doctrine, and also her masculine impudence in usurping the office of a preacher of it, though it had been never so true.

200. III. The Manichees are the next: as little deserving the name of Christians as the rest, and less than the Mahometans do. They made the same account of their Manes, as these do of Mahomet. They owned Christ to be a true prophet, as these do; and Peter, Paul, John, &c., to have been his true apostles. But they said (as these also do) that the books which we have of theirs are no true records, but had been falsified. And the same absurdity which the Christians now do urge against these, St. Austin urged against them: 'that if they plead our 'copies are falsified, they ought at least to produce 'such as are truer.' And he, who had been once seduced by them, tells us what they held as to

[c] De Baptismo, cap. 1.

[d] Epiphan. de Caianis, Hær. 38. [sive 18.—Op. tom. i. p. 276. edit. Petavii, 1622.]

baptism [e], 'they say that baptism in water 'nobody any good: neither do they baptize 'of the proselytes whom they delude into their sect.' the apostles.

Yet St. Cyril of Jerusalem [f] intimates, that they had something instead of baptism. 'Their bap-'tism,' says he, 'is such as I dare not describe before 'men and women. I am afraid to tell in what 'matter it is that they dipping a fig give it to their 'wretched people.' Yet he intimates what it was: but it is so beastly that I will not do that.

IV. The Messalians seem to have been no other 360. but a sort of enthusiastical people, who leaving off their employments, thought it necessary, or at least pleasing to God, to spend all their time in prayer and rapture. And thereby became subject to many hypochondriac conceits. Epiphanius and St. Austin speaking of them in their catalogues, say nothing of their denying baptism. But Theodoret [g], and the *Historia Tripartita* [h] out of him, repeats their sense thus; 'that there is no profit accruing to the 'baptized by baptism: but that fervent prayer only 'expels the Devil.' And says, 'that the most noted 'men of their sect were Dadoes, (or Daodes, or 'Dadosius,) Sabbas, (or Sebas,) Adelphius, Hermas, 'Symeones.'

What does Mr. Danvers do, but put down these men [i] for 'eminent persons that in the fourth cen-'tury bore witness against infant-baptism!' And he

[e] De Hæresibus, cap. 46. [Op. tom. viii. p. 17. C. edit. Benedict.]

[f] Catech. 6. [cap. 33.]

[g] Lib. iv. cap. 11.

[h] Cassiodorus, Hist. Trip. lib. vii. cap. 11.

[i] Treatise of Baptism, part ii. chap. 7.

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cites for authority the foresaid place; *Hist. Tripart.* lib. vii. cap. 11, into which whoever looks will see that the error there laid to their charge is in the words that I have set down, and no other: which express the opinion of the Quakers, not of the antipædobaptists.

But he quotes also Sebastian Frank (one of the Dutch blades I mentioned a little above [k]) to confirm that this Dadosius, Sebas, &c., were eminent witnesses against infant-baptism. So that it is to be hoped for Danvers' credit, that he had never looked into *Historia Tripartita*, but had taken the quotation on the credit of Frank, which must be very small.

But if one read the whole passage in Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* lib. iv. cap. 11, and *Hæretic. Fabul.* lib. iv. cap. *de Messalianis*, it is plain that the men were distracted. For they pretended that by force of their prayer they could bring the Devil out of themselves, sometimes by spittle, and sometimes by blowing their nose: they would dance about, and say they were treading upon him: they would imitate archers, and then say they had shot him. And that after the Devil was gone from them, they could see the holy Trinity with bodily eyes. They were also full of prophecies and revelations. And St. Hierome, who had lived in Syria among them, says [l], that they said of themselves, that 'when they 'were come to the top of their perfection, they were 'beyond any possibility of sinning, in thought, or by 'ignorance.'

The historians that have encumbered the church

[k] Chap. iv. §. 2. [l] Prolog. ad Dialog. contra Pelag.

registers with these, and some other such sorts of sects, would at the same rate, if they had had in any country at any time a dozen or two of our Muggletonians[m], have made a considerable sect of them, to be talked of in church-history to the end of the world. Whereas such men, especially when inconsiderable for number, should be pitied in their lifetime, and kept dark; and their wild opinions forgot after they are dead. And this method would have lessened the catalogues of sects almost by one half. CHAP. V. Year after the apostles.

Some[n] do reckon besides these, the Ascodruti, and the Archontici, as sects that used no baptism. But Theodoret says[o], that the Ascodruti were a branch of the Valentinians; and the Archontici of them: which I am very glad of, being weary of reckoning any more.

St. Austin says[p], a sect called Seleucians, or Hermians, do not admit of water-baptism, nor of the resurrection.

These are the sects that have renounced all use of baptism.

[m] [An obscure religious sect, which arose in England during the times of the Commonwealth: so denominated from their leader Lodowick Muggleton, a journeyman tailor, who with J. Reeves his associate pretended to high gifts of prophecy, and gave out that they were God's two witnesses, who were to appear shortly before the end of the world.

For a brief account of these enthusiasts consult the Supplement to Collier's Dictionary; and a note to the article Swedenborgians, in Evans' Sketch of the Denominations of the Christian World, p. 260. edit. 1811.]

[n] Epiph. de Archonticis, [Hæres. xx. vol. xl. Op. tom. i. p. 291.]

[o] Hæret. fab. lib. i. cap. 10. [Op. tom. iv. p. 201.]

[p] De Hær. cap. 59. [Op. tom. viii. p. 20.]

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V. Some on the other extreme have administered it several times to the same person; and are therefore properly called anabaptists. I speak now of those that practised formal anabaptism, i. e. what they themselves owned to be anabaptism, or rebaptizing of the same person. And of such I remember no more in ancient times, but the Marcionists.

40. Marcion taught, as Epiphanius says[n], that 'it is 'lawful to give three baptisms: so that if any one 'fall into sin after his first baptism, he may have 'a second; and a third, if he fall a second time.' And here it seems he stopped his hand. Yet Epiphanius says, that he had heard that his 'followers 'went further, and gave more than three, if any 'one desired it.'

He that writes the Present State of Muscovy, says[o], their way is, that 'persons of age, who 'change their religion, and embrace the Muscovite 'faith; nay even Muscovites, who having changed 'their religion in another country, are willing to 'return to their own communion, must first be 'rebaptized.' He speaks also of some vagabond people among them, called Chaldæans, who do customarily, and by a sort of license, practise great extravagancies from the 18th of December to Epiphany; during which time they are excluded the church: but 'on twelfth day, when their license is 'expired, they are rebaptized, (some of them having 'been baptized ten or twelve times,) and looked

[n] Hæres. 42. [seu 22.] Marcionistæ. [Sect. 3. apud Op. tom. i. p. 302, &c.]

[o] Dr. Crull, chap. 11. [The Ancient and Present State of Muscovy, by J. Crull, M.D. 2 vols. 8vo. Lond. 1698. vol. i. p. 194.]

"upon as good Christians." But Breerwood[p], ch. 23, CHAP. V. says, (and quotes Possevin for it,) that they use not this baptism on twelfth day, as a sacrament, or as any purification of themselves; but only as a memorial of Christ's baptism received on that day in Jordan: and that the Abassenes do the same thing upon the same day upon the same account. So that it is to be hoped that Dr. Cruil may be mistaken in the reason of their practice. And for what he says here of their rebaptising all that came over to their religion; I have occasion to note something on it, at chap. iv. § 2.

Their time of the apostles.

Mr. Thevenot also tells a story of some people called Subeans, living at Bassora in Arabia, that are, as he there says, improperly called Christians, that do reiterate the baptism which they use. But it is not the Christian baptism, nor given in that form. They have, he says, no knowledge of any

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pleaded that the baptism which the party had received before was null and void; as being administered in a corrupt church, or by heretical bishops, &c.

The antipædobaptists now hold the same plea: but the ground of the plea is very different; for I never read, and I believe they cannot produce, any instance of any one that pleaded baptism to be void, because it was given in infancy. And as they disown the name of anabaptists, or rebaptizers; so I have nowhere given it to them: as, on the contrary, I do not give them the name of Baptists, nor of the baptized people; for that is to cast a reproach upon their adversaries, as concluding that they are not so. Every party, while the matter continues in dispute, ought to give and take such names as cast no reproach on themselves nor their opponents, but such as each of them own: and such are the names that I use.

VI. The dispute about rebaptizing, or the imputation thereof, was one that troubled the church in former times as much as any. Many sects of heretics and schismatics were so bitter against the catholics, that they said; All things were so corrupt among them, that baptism, or any other office done by them, was null and void: and therefore they baptized afresh all that came over from the church to them. And many churches of the catholics were even with them, and observed the same course with all that came over from them. But others would not: but said, that baptism, though given by the schismatics, was valid. And this came at last to be a bone of contention between the catholics themselves: each party finding fault with the

other's way of receiving schismatics into the church. CHAP. V.

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In St. Cyprian's time, the Christian world was divided into halves on this point. For he, and all 150.
the churches of Africa, some of Egypt, and many in Asia, received not heretics into the church without a new baptism; and one of the apostolic canons (can. 37, alias 46) orders, that they be not otherwise received. But the Christians at Rome, and most in Europe, used only to give them a new confirmation, or laying on of hands; and so admit them.

Afterward, this came to be a rule[r]; that 'they 200.
'that came to the catholic church from such sects
'as used not the right form of baptism, [*in the*
'*name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the*
'*Holy Spirit*,] must be baptized at their admis-
'sion: but they that in any sect had been baptized
'with those words, should be adjudged to have
'already true baptism.'

VII. Yet the Paulianists were excepted from this general rule: though they, as Athanasius informs[s], used the said form of baptizing; yet the council of Nice expressly decreed[t], 'that they must be bap- 225.
'tized anew, if they would come into the catholic
'church.' The reason seems to be; that they, though using the same words, of *Father, Son, and*

[r] Basil. de Spiritu Sancto, cap. 1. [Op. tom. ii. p. 291. edit. F. Ducæi, 1638. tom. iii. p. 1. edit. Benedict.—Or rather, see his first canonical epistle to Amphilochius, being the 188th in vol. iii. of the Bened. edit. p. 268—270; canon 1.]

[s] Orat. 3. contra Arianos, [Orat. 4. cap. 30—36. Op. tom. i. p. 640, &c. edit. Benedict.]

[t] Can. 19.

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Holy Spirit, yet meant by them so different a thing, (for they took *the Son* to be a mere man,) that they were judged not to baptize into the same faith, nor in the name of the same God, that the catholics and others did.

224. This shews the abhorrence that the Christians at that time had of an opinion that would now grow fashionable. And Photinus, a little after, in the time of Constantius, did no sooner make an attempt to revive this heresy, but that both the catholics and Arians (though they could hardly agree in any thing else) agreed in condemning him and his opinion: 'which act of theirs,' says Socrates the historian [a], 'was approved of all men, both at that 'time present, and also in times following.' He means, that all of the most differing parties and opinions agreed that such a doctrine was abominable. And Theodoret, who lived at the same time with Socrates, having reckoned up in one book all the sects that had attributed to our Saviour no other nature than human, says in the last chapter thereof [z], 'that they were at that time all extinct 'and forgotten; so that the names of them were 'known to but few.' And so they have continued till of very late years: unless the modern abettors of them will plead, that the succession of their doctrine has been preserved, from the year 600, in the churches of Mecca and Medina.

VIII. It appears how conscious these men are, that all antiquity is against them, by their setting themselves so bitterly against it. There is no sect of men now in the world that do use such en-

[a] Lib. ii. cap. 29.

[z] Hæret. Fab. lib. ii. [c. 11. Op. tom. iv. p. 224.]

deavours, and some of them very unfair ones, to bring all the ancient Christians and their writings into a general disrepute. They employ and encourage some persons to read the Fathers, only to weed and cull out of them some sayings, which, taken by themselves, may be represented either ridiculous, insipid, or heterodox. They also collect out of history, all the faults or miscarriages that any ancient writer has been charged with: and making a bundle of this stuff, part true, part false, they present it to their proselytes, and even to the world, as the life of such a Father[y]; or as a specimen of such a Father's works. They give a great many reasons why it is not worth the while to read, study, or translate the discourses of these ancients: that time is much better spent in reading the modern criticisms upon the text of Scripture, which do often give the sense thereof such a turn, as to make our religion to be a very different thing from that which has been all along the religion of Christians. If they can gain this point, to alienate people from any regard to the doctrine and faith of the primitive times, they make a good step, not only for their own turn to overthrow the doctrine of the Trinity, but also for the advantage of their next successors the deists, who can with a much better grace argue against a religion that has been altered in its most fundamental points, than against one that has continued the same since the time that it was once delivered to the saints.

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But among all the reproaches cast on the Fathers, there is none so scandalous and destructive of

y [See a note on this subject above, vol. i. p. 350.]

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the credit both of the Fathers and of Christianity itself, as is one that they have lately set abroad; viz. that the doctrine of the Trinity, or of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in whom we believe, and in whose name we are baptized, is (as it is understood, explained, and held by the said Fathers) a doctrine of tritheism, or of believing in three Gods. I may repeat their sayings: for they are industriously handed about in the English tongue. One of them says thus [z]:

'They [the Fathers] thought the three hypo-'stases [or persons in the Trinity] to be three equal 'Gods, as we should now express it.' And again [a]; 'Not to recur to the Fathers, whose opinion was 'quite different from that which is now received: 'as who, properly speaking, affirmed that there 'were three consubstantial Gods, as has been shewn 'by Petavius, Curcellæus, Cudworth, and others.' And again; 'Who, to speak the truth, were trithe-'ists rather than asserters of the present opinion: 'for they believed the unity of substance, not the 'singularity of number, as Tertullian speaks; that 'is, that the substance of the Father, Son, and Holy 'Ghost was specifically one, but numerically three: 'as the learned men I before mentioned have clearly 'shewn, and might more largely be demonstrated.'

This spittle of an outlandish author our English Socinians greedily licked up: and to any thing that was offered out of the Fathers they have in their

[z] [M. Le Clerc, in his] Supplement to Dr. Hammond's Annot. on 1 John v. 6. [4to. London, 1699.]

[a] Ibid. Preface. [Or see the Latin edition, Novum Test. Hammondi et Clerici, 2 tom. fol. Francofurti, 1714. tom. ii. p. 594. §. 5.]

late books opposed this; that 'the Fathers held CHAP. V.
'only a specifical unity of the Divine nature, and Year after the apostles.
'the persons to be as so many individuals[b].' This they repeat often, and refer to Curcellæus' undeniable proofs of it. Of which bishop Stillingfleet taking notice, did in his Vindication of the Doctrine of the Trinity, ch. vi. answer and refute particularly all the instances brought by Curcellæus, in a large discourse, from p. 76, to p. 100[c], bringing, as he expresses it himself, 'undeniable proofs' that Curcellæus had mistaken their meaning.

IX. Notwithstanding this, what does the foresaid author do, but three years after the publication of Stillingfleet's book, writing some Critical Epistles, loads them with the same slanders repeated, without taking any notice that they had been answered? saying, 'that the Nicene Fathers 'thought the Divine nature is no otherwise one 'than specifically, but that it is in number three-'fold: as Petavius, Curcellæus, Cudworth, and 'others have proved by such arguments, as that 'there can nothing be said in answer to them[d].'

In another of the said epistles he repeats the same slander, and would father it on some learned men in England. He says, 'learned men in Eng-

[b] Defence of the brief History of the Unitarians, [against Dr. Sherlock's Answer, 4to. Lond. 1691.] p. 5. Answer to La Moth [viz. Reflections on two discourses concerning the Divinity of our Saviour, written by Monsieur Lamoth, in French, and done into English. Written to J. S. 4to. London, 1693. pp. 24.] Letter to the University, p. 13.

[c] [Of the second edition, 8vo. London, 1697.]

[d] Epist. 3. ad Episcop. Sarisb. p. 108. [See Jo. Clerici Epistolæ Criticæ, (forming the third volume of his Ars critica) 12mo. Amstelodami, 1700.]

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'land, and elsewhere, do not forbear to say openly, 'that the Nicene Fathers believed three eternal and 'equal essences in God; and not one God in num-'ber[e].' And having mentioned, that several protestant churches have received the Nicene Creed into their public confessions, he adds: 'If then they 'will stand to this part of their confession, they 'must own that they believe three eternal natures, 'and renounce the numerical unity of God. Or if 'they will not do that, they must expunge that 'article of their confession, in which they own the 'Nicene faith.'

And these letters he ventures to send into England, directed to bishops there, who he must needs think abominated such exorbitant sayings; and who could easily, if he had had the prudence to consult them first, have satisfied him that one of their brethren had long ago answered all those proofs of Curcellæus with which he made such a noise: Petavius' and Cudworth's instances being not so considerable, nor so maliciously urged.

Our church is not wont to take such affronts, and continue silent under them, unless when the party is accounted of so little credit as to be not worth the answering. The learned men therein (and especially the most learned person against whom these epistles were directed) would probably have spent some pains to vindicate the church of Christ from so foul a slander, but that they thought the falsehood of this imputation of the Fathers had been already sufficiently shewn.

Here I did in the first edition take notice, that some passages written a great while ago by a right

[e] Id. in Epist. 5. ad Episcop. Vigorn. p. 177.

reverend bishop, (of which others also had taken notice before,) did seem to incline to this opinion of Mr. Le Clerc concerning the Fathers. Of which I have no more to say, than what I have said in the preface of this second edition[f]. CHAP. V. Year after the apostles.

X. Mr. Le Clerc brings some pretended proofs of the tritheism of the ancients, of his own collection[g]: of which bishop Stillingfleet took no notice, they being not in Curcellæus. They are sayings, or pieces of sayings, of the Fathers, so partially picked out and unfairly represented, that at that rate one might abuse and misrepresent any writer; even the Scripture itself. He mentions in the words before recited, a scrap of a sentence of Tertullian in his book against Praxeas, c. 25[h]. The whole sentence runs thus: 'Ita connexus Patris in Filio, et Filii in 'Paracleto tres efficit, cohærentes alterum ex altero; 'qui tres unum sint, non unus: quomodo dictum est, '*Ego et Pater unum sumus*; ad substantiæ unitatem, non ad numeri singularitatem.' 'Thus the connexion of the Father in the Son, and the Son in 'the Holy Spirit, makes that there are three that 'cohere in one another; which three are *unum*, one 'substance, not *unus*, one person: as it is said, '*I and the Father are* unum, *one substance*; to 'denote the unity of substance, not the singularity 'of number. That is, (as Mr. Le Clerc says,) the 'substance of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit is 'specifically one, but numerically three.' But that is (as any one else will say) to denote the unity of 100.

[f] [For some account of the particulars here alluded to, see a note attached to the preface of this edition.]

[g] [In his Adnotationes in loc. 1 Joh. v. 6. p. 594, edit. 1714.]

[h] [Op. p. 515.]

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substance, not the singularity of number of the persons; or, that the persons are not numerically one, though the substance is. For it is to be noted, that this book was written against that error of Praxeas, whereby he taught that Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are one person: to confirm which he brought that place of Scripture, *I and the Father are one.* Tertullian tells him, our Saviour's word there is *unum*, which denotes one substance; not *unus*, which would have denoted one person.

And though the design of the book be, as I said, to maintain that side of the question; that there are in some sense three in the Godhead, (as Praxeas had maintained the contrary, carrying the arguments for the unity further than he ought,) yet even in this book there are more than twenty passages in which Tertullian aims to express as well as he can, (for they had not then so determinate an use of words,) a numerical unity of the substance, or essence. Particularly this passage[i]:

'Igitur unus Deus Pater, et alius absque eo non 'est: quod ipse inferens, non Filium negat, sed 'alium Deum: cæterum alius a patre filius non est. '——Atquin si nominasset illum, separasset, ita 'dicens: "Alius præter me non est, nisi Filius meus." 'Alium enim etiam Filium fecisset, quem de aliis 'excepisset. Puta solem dicere: "Ego sol, et alius 'præter me non est, nisi radius meus:" nonne de-'notasses vanitatem? quasi non et radius in sole 'deputetur.'

'So there is one God the Father, and there is no 'other beside him: which he affirming does not 'exclude his Son, but any other God: and the Son

[i] Ch. 18. [p. 510. edit. Priorii.]

'is not another from the Father.——It would have 'been to separate [or distinguish] him, if he had 'named him, and had said, "There is no other beside 'me, except my Son." It had been to make his Son 'another, whom he had excepted out of those that 'are others. Suppose the sun should say: "I am 'the sun, and there is no other beside me, except 'my light [or ray]," would you not judge it ab-'surd? As if the light were not counted to the 'sun itself.' CHAP. V. Year after the apostles.

To mention one passage more of the said book, chap. xxix. where he is answering the argument of Praxeas, who had said; that since the essence [or substance] of the Father and the Son is one and the same, the Son could not suffer but the Father must suffer too. And where Tertullian, if he had thought the essence of the Son to be only specifically the same with that of the Father, and not numerically, could not have forborne to answer so. But he answers thus; that the Divine nature did not suffer at all: but if it had, that argument would not have concluded. 'Nam et fluvius, si aliqua turbulentia 'contaminatur, quanquam una substantia de fonte 'decurrat, nec secernatur a fonte, tamen fluvii in-'juria non pertinebit ad fontem. Et licet aqua 'fontis sit quæ patiatur in fluvio, dum non in fonte 'patitur, sed in fluvio, non fons patitur, sed fluvius 'qui ex fonte est. Ita, etsi spiritus Dei quid pati 'posset in Filio, quia tamen non in Patre pateretur, 'sed in Filio, Pater passus non videretur. Sed suffi-'cit nihil spiritum Dei passum suo nomine.'

'For if a stream be puddled with any disturb-'ance, though it be the same substance that runs 'from the spring, and be not distinct from the

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'spring, yet the hurt of the stream will not affect 'the spring. And though it be the water of the 'spring which suffers in the stream, yet so long as 'it suffers in the stream, and not in the spring, the 'spring does not suffer, but the stream which is 'derived from the spring. So though the Spirit [or 'Deity] of God could suffer any thing in the Son, 'yet so long as it suffered not in the Father, but the 'Son, the Father would not be said to suffer. But 'it is sufficient [to take off your argument] that the 'divinity suffered not at all in its own nature.'

If he had thought the essence to be only specifically the same, he would not have gone so far for an answer; the aim thereof is to shew, that though it be numerically the same in both persons, yet something might be said of one of them, which could not be said of the other.

But in other books the same writer affirms the numerical unity of essence more plainly, and in the terms of the question, though not then in common use. For in his Apology, chap. xxi. he says, that the Λόγος is *de Spiritu Spiritus, et de Deo Deus*[k]: *Modulo alter, non numero.* 'Spirit of Spirit, and 'God of God: another in mode but not in number.' The same expression of *modulo alius ab alio* is also in the book against Praxeas, chap. ix.[l] and to the same purpose, chap. xiv.

It is therefore plain, that Tertullian thought that in some sense the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are numerically one: which must be in respect of the substance; for as for the persons, the design of his whole book against Praxeas is to maintain that they are three in number.

[k] [P. 20. A. edit. Priorii.]

[l] [P. 504. D.]

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XI. Mr. Le Clerc does also endeavour to make his advantage of Gregory Nazianzen, with whom Curcellæus had not meddled. He pretended to write the Life of this Father [m]. One may easily see through his pretended reasons for it, and perceive that the design was to represent him as a tritheist: there are so many sayings of his wrested, and some false translated for that purpose. It is true, that 260. Gregory, in those voluminous disputations of his against the Arians and Sabellians, having no adversaries of the tritheistical opinion, and not fearing to be himself suspected of it, has some expressions in his arguments and explications unguarded on that side: yet so as that he still speaks with abhorrence of the belief of three gods. And it is a known rule of charity, that no consequences drawn from an author's expressions, are to fix on him an opinion contrary to his own express declaration: but that what he says at one or two places, seeming to favour any opinion, must be explained by others, if he have any other that are plain, full, and purposely written to the contrary.

What Mr. Le Clerc had produced from this Father was not answered, (which can no way so well be done, as by translating his works entire; a thing useful, if the modern readers of books had so much regard to antiquity as they ought: but such a regard is much lessened by such lives,) and therefore he concluded in another piece [n], that Gregory was 'undoubtedly of that opinion: the thing is so clear, 'it cannot be questioned by those that have con-'sidered it.' He mentions also, in the Critical

[m] Biblioth. tom. xix.

[n] Supplement to Dr. Hammond's Annotations, preface.

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Epistles I spoke of before, his performance in proving this upon Gregory. Yet of all the passages produced in that Life to justify this accusation, this is the hardest: that he in a certain sermon[o] being busy in shewing the unfitness of all those examples of natural things which are commonly made use of to explain the Trinity, how they are all deficient and unapt in one respect or another, says: that 'he, as 'well as others, had thought of "the vein of water 'that feeds the spring, the spring or pond itself, 'and the stream that issues from it." Whether the 'first of these might not be compared to the Father, 'the second to the Son, and the third to the Holy 'Spirit. But he was afraid that by the similitude 'there would seem to be represented something 'numerically one; for that the vein, the spring, and 'the stream, are numerically one, though diversely 'modified or represented.'

This indeed plainly shews, that Gregory was afraid of representing the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as numerically one in some sense: but how? As having an essence numerically one? Not so: for he does in one hundred places shew that to be his real meaning. But in the Sabellian sense, which taught the persons to be numerically one, or, that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are several names of one person: and consequently that it may properly be said that the Father was incarnated, suffered, &c. He had the more reason to be cautious of saying any thing that might seem to favour that sense, because the catholics were slandered by the Arians to hold that opinion.

[o] Orat. 37. de Spiritu Sancto. [31. in edit. Benedict. p. 556, &c.]

The one hundred places, that I spoke of, might be produced out of Gregory's works. But there happen to be enough in that very sermon, or oration, where there is this for one. He is there answering those that thought, that from the confession of three persons in the Godhead would follow by consequence the doctrine of three Gods. He answers thus; that though there be three in whom the Godhead is, yet there is in them three but one Godhead, εἷς ὁ Θεὸς, ὁτὶ μιὰ Θεότης[p]. and again, ἀμέριστος ἐν μεμερισμένοις ἡ Θεότης[q]. But then he brings in an exception which they made against this answer of his; CHAP. V. Year after the apostles. 260.

Obj. 'But they will say, that the heathens (such 'of them as had the most advanced philosophy) held 'that there is but one Godhead. And also in the 'case of men, all mankind has but one common 'nature. And yet the heathens had many gods, not 'one only: and also there are many men.'

This objection comes home to the point. And here it is that Gregory must declare, whether he hold a specific or a numerical unity. Therefore observe how he answers. To the case of the heathen gods he makes a separate answer, that concerns not this question. But to that of mankind having one common nature, and yet being many men, he answers thus:

Sol. 'But here [viz. in the case of men] the 'several men have no other unity than what is made 'by the conception of our mind,' τὸ ἓν ἔχει μόνον ἐπινοίᾳ θεωρητόν[q]. He goes on a while to shew that men do in reality differ from one another; and answers to the objection about the heathen gods: and then

[p] [Orat. 31. §. 14.]

[q] [Ibid. §. 15.]

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adds, τὸ δὲ ἡμέτερον οὐ τοιοῦτον, οὐδὲ αὕτη μερὶς τῷ Ἰακώβ, φησὶν ὁ ἐμὸς θεολόγος. Ἀλλὰ τὸ ἓν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἔχει πρὸς τὸ συγκείμενον οὐχ ἧττον ἢ πρὸς ἑαυτό: τῷ ταυτῷ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως[r]. 'But our Deity '[or God] is not so: nor is the portion of Jacob like 'them, as our Theologue [meaning Jeremy, x. 16.] 'says: but every one of them [the persons of the 'Trinity] has an unity with the other, no less than 'that which he has with himself, by reason of the 'identity of essence and power.'

It is impossible any thing should be fuller to the purpose than this. For the proper difference between a numerical and a specifical unity, is this; that a specifical unity is only by our conception: and the numerical unity is the only real unity. In the several men that differ in age, in shape, &c. there is something alike, viz. the essence or nature of man. This our mind abstracts from the rest, and conceives it as one in them all. But this common nature, so abstracted from the individuals, subsists only in our mind: and in reality every man has his own essence distinct in number from the rest: and if all other men were destroyed, he would have his own essence just as he has it now. And that which Gregory answers is, that several men have no other unity or sameness than what is by the conception of our mind, i. e. no other than a specifical unity. But each of the three, viz. Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, has an unity with the other, as much as with himself; by identity [or sameness] of essence and of power, which must be a numerical one.

Mr. Le Clerc does indeed recite some of this

[r] [Orat. 31. §. 16.]

answer, but in such a fashion, as shews he had a mind to mar it in the reciting. And the like he does in several other passages of Gregory. In the foremen- tioned comparison of the three persons to the vein, the pond, and the stream, because the Greek word used by Gregory for the vein is ὀφθαλμὸς, he translates it, *l'oeil*, 'an eye.' CHAP. V. Year after the apostles.

Who ever went about to represent the Trinity by an eye, a fountain, and a stream? So great a critic should not have been ignorant that it signifies there (as Elias Cretensis in his comments on the place had noted) the vein that feeds the pond, or the hole or opening of that vein into the pond. And this yet is not so absurd, as where a little after the same words are translated; 'an eye,' 'a fountain,' and 'the sun.' There are a great many other places in that Life, where Gregory is made, by curtailing or altering his words, to speak nonsense: and I wish the main design of it were not to make him speak something that is by many degrees worse. For to hold three Gods is not to be a Christian, nor any worshipper of Jehovah, but a pagan.

The very same oration furnishes us with several more proofs of the contrary. A little after the forementioned passage, he quotes and approves of a rule of Christian worship given by his namesake Gregory Thaumaturgus, (or else by St. Basil, for the words are ambiguous,) σέβειν Θεὸν τὸν Πατέρα, Θεὸν τὸν υἱὸν, Θεὸν τὸ Πνεῦμα ἅγιον· τρεῖς ἰδιότητας, Θεότητα μίαν[s]. 'That we are to worship God the Father, God the 'Son, and God the Holy Spirit; three properties, 'one Divinity.' 154.

And at another place in the same oration; 'The

[s] [Ibid. sect. 28.]

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'three are one in the Godhead [or essence], and the 'one three in properties [or persons]: that there 'may be neither one in the Sabellian sense; nor 'three in that wicked sense now set up,' viz. the Arian.

I desire the reader to compare the account of this oration or sermon, which he will conceive by these passages, with the account given by Mr. Le Clerc of the same oration: and if he doubt which is the truest, to read the oration itself, and some other of the same Father's works; and so pass his judgment. This may be sooner done, than to read the squabbles *pro* and *contra* about them. And indeed if people would choose to read the Fathers and ancient writers themselves, rather than scraps and quotations out of them; it were the only way to defeat the purpose of those, that would defeat us of that strength and corroboration of the Christian religion, which accrues by the constant succession of its fundamental doctrines in all ages.

I will mention but one passage more of Gregory, and that out of his oration concerning baptism[r], out of which I recited before what properly concerns baptism: but he there speaking of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, in whose name they were to be baptized, explains their way of subsisting in the Godhead, so as any one will perceive he means a numerical unity of the essence. Always provided that we make allowance for this; that they had not, as I said, any such settled use of words of a determinate meaning, *specifical*, *numerical*, &c., as we use now: but expressed their sense by paraphrasing as well as they could. But you will see that he

[r] Orat. 40.

means, that though they are in some sense three, yet that their essence, or nature, is one, and that numerically one: not three natures or essences all alike, (as three men have,) but one in number. 'They are each of them God as considered singly, 'viz. the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, 'each having his property: but the three together 'are God, when considered conjunctly. The first of 'which sayings is true, because of consubstantiality, 'the other because of the monarchy [or unity]. 'I no sooner go to think of one, but I am in my 'mind surrounded with the three shining round 'about me. I no sooner go to think distinctly of 'the three, but I am carried back to the unity [or 'to consider them as one]. When I am thinking 'of one of the three, I conceive him as the whole; 'and my mind has no room for any thing else: I 'find myself unable to comprehend the greatness of 'him, so as to leave any thing for the other. When 'I think of the three together, I see them as one 'lamp, whose compacted light cannot be divided or 'measured.' CHAP. V. Year after the apostles.

XII. People's meaning about a doctrine is never better perceived, than by observing in some dispute about it how, and with what reasons, one side attacks, and how the other answers. Let us therefore observe in some heresies that were about the doctrine of the Trinity, what arguments the sectaries used, and which way the churchmen answered. It will appear that the doctrine of the church was such an unity of essence in the Divine persons, as we call *numerical*.

I shall mention one heresy before the council of Nice, and one after it; because the pretence is for the time of that council, and for some time before

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and after it, that the Christians held the persons in the Trinity to be so many different beings, and to be one in essence no otherwise than 'as three 'men have the same common nature among them.' If this were true, then farewell Fathers, and the church of Christ for all that time. For this would never justify them from an imputation of tritheism. But the contrary, God be thanked, has been fully shewn, both by bishop Stillingfleet, as I said, and by many other learned men: and needs no shewing to any one that will read the books themselves.

1. The first notable heresy that rose about the doctrine of the Trinity, was that of Praxeas, against which Tertullian wrote the book we spoke of: and it was after his time carried on by Noetus and Sabellius, from the year 200 to 260: after which time the men of that sect were called Sabellians. They held, that there is but one person in the Godhead, as I said. And this they pretended not to be any new doctrine set up by them, (for they and all people at that time owned this for a certain rule, as it undoubtedly is; that 'whatsoever is new 'in the fundamentals of religion, is false,') but they maintained stiffly that it was the very sense of the Christian church before them. Now I say, that these men could never have so far mistaken the church's sense, as to assert one person in number; unless the general doctrine had owned that there is but one essence in number. For if the church had held, that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit had each a distinct numerical essence, as three men have; the Sabellians could never have run into that mistake of the church's meaning, as to think it to be, that there is but one person, and consequently that the Father

200. 260.

suffered; which they did, and were therefore called Patripassians. And on the other side, the church would have had no difficulty in answering the objections of the Sabellians; who argued, that since there is but one God, there can be but one person in the Godhead. For if the church had held, as before, that the three persons have only the same specific or common essence, and not the same numerical essence; it had been no more a mystery that the Son should take flesh, and the Father not; than it is that of three men, that have all the same common nature of man, one should do or suffer any thing, and the other not. And they could not have avoided answering so. Whereas, on the contrary, the Fathers find it a very operose and difficult thing to answer the objections of those men, (witness Tertullian's book against Praxeas,) and do always fly to the incomprehensible nature of the Divine essence.

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And when the Arian disputes arose, the catholics that maintained the clause of one substance were constantly by the Arians reproached with Sabellianism, i. e. of holding but one person in number: which could not have been, but that they explained themselves so as to shew that they meant but one substance in number. This was the first and main ground of Arius' falling off from the church. For so Socrates relates the matter[u].

'Alexander the bishop, sitting on a time with 220.
'his presbyters and other clergy, discoursed some-
'thing nicely of the holy Trinity; how there is in
'the Trinity μονὰς, an unity [or singularity]. But
'Arius, one of the presbyters of his church, a man

[u] Hist. lib. i. cap. 5.

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'not unskilful in logical quirks, thinking that the 'bishop did set up the doctrine of Sabellius, did 'himself, out of contention, set up the directly 'opposite extreme to that of that Libyan.'

230. And a little after that the council of Nice had inserted into the creed that phrase, that the Son is ὁμοούσιος, 'coessential' [or of one substance] with the Father; the same historian tells how there were great contests about the import of that word. And he says, 'They that disliked that word, thought 'that the approvers of it did set up the opinion of 'Sabellius: and so called them blasphemers, as if 'they had gone about to take away ὕπαρξιν the 'subsistence [or distinct personality] of the Son of 'God. And they, on the contrary, that approved 'that term, reckoned that their opposers brought 'in polytheism [or several gods][x].' And Sozomen gives the very same account[y].

This plainly shews that the catholics, who owned the word ὁμοούσιος, explained themselves so as to mean one substance in number. For else the accusations ought to have run quite contrary: and not the deniers of that phrase, but the approvers of it, would have been accused of polytheism, or tritheism: as they are now by these men. But they were then upbraided with Sabellianism, the direct contrary extreme: and the defenders of the Nicene Creed against the Arians do take most pains in vindicating themselves from that imputation; which could have had no appearance, if they had not been understood to hold one substance in number.

This made them to be accused of 'taking away

[x] Lib. i. cap. 23. [y] Lib. ii. cap. 18, 19.

'the subsistence [or distinct personality] of the Son 'of God;' because they teaching that there is in the Trinity but one substance in all, and the others extending what they said of οὐσία, 'substance,' to ὑπαρξις, 'subsistence,' concluded that they thereby made but 'one subsistence in all;' and so the Son could have none. Whereas if they had meant, as these late slanderers represent their meaning, 'three 'substances in number,' or any thing that would have amounted to what that reviler calls 'three 'consubstantial gods[z];' they would have been so far from taking away his ὑπαρξις, that they had given him a distinct οὐσία, essence or divinity, and had made him a distinct God from God the Father. CHAP. V. Year after the apostles.

If there were time to enter into any of the particulars of the history of the men of that time, such as Eustathius, Meletius, &c., and other chief defenders of the Nicene faith; that would plainly shew the falsehood of this accusation. For if this accusation were true, these men would have been by the Arians hated and deposed under any pretence sooner than that of Sabellianism: which, as Socrates[a] and Theodoret[b] tell us, was the chief pretence against them. 225. 260.

2. Now to come to some later times, and the heresies then arising. We shall see how directly contrary to history that opinion is, that pretends that it was 'after the fifth century that the 'doctrine 'of one individual essence was received.' For it places the beginning of the catholic religion in opposition to tritheism, just at the time when tritheism, in opposition to the true religion, was first

[z] Above at §. 8. p. 148.

[a] Lib. ii. cap. 9. de Eustathio.

[b] Lib. ii. cap. 31. de Meletio.

CHAP. V. of all vented. For Joannes Philoponus, in the sixth century, was the first man of all that owned the Son and Holy Spirit to be God, that ever offered to deny 'the doctrine of one individual essence' in the Godhead, and to affirm that each person in the Trinity had his own essence or substance distinct, and so that there were three substances or natures in number as well as three persons.

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The quotations concerning him, and concerning his being condemned for this doctrine, might be easily produced, being a piece of history so well known and uncontroverted. It is only to spare time (having too far digressed already) that I desire the reader to take the account of his heresy in the words of the learned Dr. Cave [c], who giving a short account of him (as he does of all other writers) relates the ordinary history concerning him thus: 'He vented several doctrines contrary to the 'faith. Having taken for granted from Aristotle's 'philosophy, of which he had been a great student, 'that *hypostasis* is the same with *natura*, he thence 'concluded that there is but one nature in Christ: 'and rejected the council of Chalcedon. And after-'ward, when the catholics objected to him that 'there are in the Trinity three hypostases, and yet 'but one nature; to get clear of that objection, he 'ventured to maintain that there are three natures 'or substances in the Trinity: yet still positively 'denying that there are three Gods, or deities. He 'was for this reason accounted, and is to this day 'accounted, the author and ringleader of the sect of 'the tritheists.'

The Socinians themselves, when they think it for

[c] Hist. Literaria, part. i. verb. Joannes Philoponus.

their purpose, do instance in the condemnation of this man; saying of an opinion which they would represent the same as this, that 'it was condemned 'by the ancients in the person of Philoponus; and 'in the middle ages, in the person and writings of 'abbot Joachim [d],' &c. And can there be any thing fouler than to impute to the ancients an opinion, which they condemned as soon as they heard it vented? Would they have condemned him for expressing that which was their own meaning? CHAP. Year after the apostles.

All that has any appearance of truth in this accusation of the Fathers, is this; first, that they being used to a style that is fitter for an honest plain man to signify his meaning, than for a logician to hold a dispute in, and yet being forced to speak much of the Trinity, do many times express themselves so, and use such comparisons, periphrases, &c., as a captious man may take his advantage of, if he will single out some particular places: and secondly, that their disputes being against Arians, Eunomians, &c., who not only denied the numerical unity, but even the specifical unity or equality of essence in the Trinity, do sometimes use such arguments as prove a specifical unity; not

[d] Considerations on the Explication of the Doctrine of the Trinity, p. 12. [The tract here quoted was written against the explications by doctors Wallis, Sherlock, South, Cudworth, and Mr. Hooker; it is addressed 'to a person of quality,' and printed in 1693. 4to. pp. 35. There is a *second* piece, by the same author, and bearing precisely the *same title*, but directed against the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Worcester and Sarum, and some others, addressed 'in a letter to H. H.' and published in the following year, 1694; 4to. pp. 68. The similarity of the two titles has made it necessary to insert this note.]

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that that was all they would have; but to overthrow one error first. And on this head they sometimes use the instance of three men being ὁμοούσιοι 'of one 'substance:' such is that place of Gregory Nyssen which Curcellæus urges, and bishop Stillingfleet confesses to be the hardest place in all antiquity. But in such places their aim is to argue thus; if three men, though differing as three individuals, yet having all the same sort of essence, are in some sense styled 'of one substance with one another;' how much more may the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit be so styled, who do not differ as three men, but have an essence that is ἄτμητος, ἀμέριστος, 'un-'parted, undistinguished;' and that is ἀχωρίστως καὶ ἀδιαιρέτως, 'inseparably and indivisibly,' one and the same in them all? They used these last words to express that which we now express by 'numerically 'one;' or 'one in number.' And they thought these words did it more effectually; because a thing may be one in number, (as there is but one world in number,) and yet not uncompounded, indivisible, &c. as God's essence is. In a word, to say that they sometimes used the instances of a specific unity, is true: but to say that they pleaded for no more than that in the Trinity, is false.

XIII. These answers and defences are necessary only in the case of those Fathers, whose style is more loose and Asiatic, and so their words more capable of being perverted from their true meaning. But other Fathers, as St. Austin, St. Hierome, St. Ambrose, &c. who lived at the same time, and held the same faith and communion, being brought up to some use of logic, have placed their words concerning the numerical unity, so as that no file or

tooth can touch them. This bishop Stillingfleet has shewn of St. Austin: and it is proved incontestably by these words of his, lib. vii. *de Trinitate*[e], c. 4. 'If the word *essence* were a specific name common to the three, why might there not be said to be three essences; as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are three men, the word *man* being a specific name common to all men?' And a little after; 'Quia hoc illi est Deum esse, quod est esse, tam tres essentias quam tres Deos dici fas non est.' 'Since with him it is the same thing to be God, as it is to be; we must no more say three essences [or beings] than three Gods.' St. Hierome cannot well speak more home than he does in the place I quoted on another occasion[f], 'If any one, by hypostasis meaning essence, does not confess that there is but one hypostasis in three persons, he is estranged from Christ.' And St. Ambrose argues, 'How can the unity of the Godhead admit of plurality, when plurality is of number, and the Divine nature admits not of number[g]?' There would be no end of repeating the sayings of these and other Fathers, that are full and home to this purpose.

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XIV. What then can be done with these Fathers? They are pointblank against the Socinians; and they cannot be made tritheists, but must be owned to be Unitarians in respect of God's essence. They must be blackened some other way. As for St. Hierome, he is proud, unconstant, &c., and the rest have other faults. What shall be said of St. Austin, whose piety, humility, and caution in writing,

[e] [Augustini Opera, tom. viii. p. 853. 860. edit. Benedict.]

[f] Ch. iii. sect. 10. §. 1.

[g] Lib. iii. de Spiritu Sancto, c. 13. [Op. tom. ii. p. 684.]

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has obtained a great repute? Set Mr. Le Clerc upon him: he will prove him to be 'one that has 'promoted some two doctrines, which have taken 'away all goodness and justice both from God and 'men[h],' and will find a way to lay the odium of that tyranny with which the French king persecutes his protestant subjects, at his door. Upon what grounds? Because he held the doctrine of prædestination, an inextricable point, in which good men in all ages have differed: and because he was convinced by the unquiet and contentious humour of the Donatists and Circumcellions, and by the good effect which the emperor's edicts afterward had upon them, that moderate penalties inflicted on turbulent schismatics are useful.

It is not only the Christians at the time of the council of Nice, and near before or after it, that have incurred the displeasure of these men, by their branding the Paulianists in the manner I mentioned: it is all the ancients of whom we have any remains. Socrates[i] tells, how Sabinus, a writer of the Macedonian sect, (these were akin to the Paulianists,) found it for his purpose to cast dirt on the Fathers of the Nicene council, making them a pack of ignorant and silly men. Yet he left a handle whereby himself might be refuted: for he had acknowledged (as he durst not deny) that Eusebius was a man of great judgment and learning. Socrates, by producing Eusebius' testimony[k] in commendation of the rest, rebukes the falsehood of that slanderer. But these have taken a more effectual course: they have put them all into the indictment,

[h] Supplement to Dr. Hammond's Annotations, Preface.

[i] Lib. i. cap. 8. [k] De Vita Constantini, lib. iii. cap. 9.

not leaving us one by whose evidence we might retrieve the credit of the rest. The reason is; they can find never a Paulianist among them. CHAP. V. Year after the apostles.

The apostles chose the best men they could find, to succeed them in the ministry: such as Timothy, Titus, Polycarp, &c. They also gave them this charge; *The things which ye have heard of us before many witnesses, the same commit ye to faithful men, who may be fit to teach others also*[1]. They knew how much it concerned the good of the church, and the credibility of the doctrine in future times, to have it handed down by faithful, prudent, and judicious men. We have all the reason in the world to believe (unless the contrary could be proved) that this charge was obeyed by their deputies; and that the succession was for the first ages generally carried on in good hands. This race of men would persuade us the contrary: for they spare not any that are left of those that were nigh the apostles. Take Irenæus for example. He received 67. the doctrine from Polycarp, who was chosen by St. John. He has left some books against the heresies that were then, and some other pieces. These were much valued by the men of the next ages. They call him the mauler of heresies and false doctrines, a skilful conveyer of the history and traditions of the church. We pick out of his works the completest catalogue by far of the books of the New Testament, of any that is so ancient. Yet in so large writings he has here and there (as it happens to a man) some sayings and sentences of small force or weight; some particular observations of little moment, some arguings weak, and some

[1] 2 Tim. ii. 2.

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mistaken. These they cull out, would have us judge of the whole garden by these flowers; that they may represent the man a silly and credulous fop, and his works not worth the pains of reading.

Next to the undervaluing the authority of the Scripture, there is no so mischievous way to undermine the Christian religion, as thus to vilify the ancient professors of it. For it is they that have handed down the Scripture, and the interpretation and confirmation thereof to us. It is from them that we know which books are canonical, or were truly the writings of such or such an apostle. One of the assurances that we have that the miracles recorded were really wrought, is, that they who lived so near the time that they might easily inquire, did believe, and were really convinced of the matter of fact. And the more injudicious they are represented to be, the weaker that argument is. Therefore though we know them to be but men, and liable to mistakes, yet it is an unnatural impiety to make it one's business to represent them worse than they are.

But as their credit has held now so many hundred years in all the Christian world, when all the books of those that have nibbled at them have been slighted and forgotten: so the attempts made by these men are too void of strength and truth, to give us any reason to fear that they should overthrow it. It is a poor piece of spite to set one's self to be revenged on the credit of men dead 1300 or 1500 years since, because their words will not be brought to favour some alteration of the Christian faith that we would set up. And it is also an impious thing to be so far in love with such an altera-

tion, as to go about to build it upon the ruins of the credit of Christianity in general. For what an ill face does this put upon the Christian faith, to maintain that it has been conveyed down to us by a church made up of silly and credulous men, and such as believed there were three Gods. CHAP. V Year after the apostles.

XV. After I had finished this chapter, there came over another book from Holland, written by the same spiteful enemy of the Fathers, whose cavils against them I have been here answering: where he brings in St. Austin also among the tritheists. He could not have taken a more effectual course to hinder any body from believing his slanders of the other Fathers. He calls his book *Bibliothèque Choisie*, intending it for a continuation of his *Bibliothèque Universelle*. And himself he styles here John Phereponus, that is, 'One that takes a great 'deal of pains' (to do mischief).

First, he labours by all ways to vilify St. Austin as one that was no such linguist as Phereponus is: 'He understood (he says, tom. i. p. 406.) neither 'Greek nor Hebrew. He was not fit to expound the 'Scripture. His reasonings popular, such as might 'please the Numidians, and other Africans, who were 'of all nations the most ignorant and most corrupt.' This he says, though he knew that St. Austin was, not only for his preachings, but writings, the most celebrated bishop, (as St. Hierome says,) not only in Africa, but in the whole world. But he says, (p. 407.) 'The churchmen of this age were hardly 'any better in the other provinces of the Roman 'empire.' The question, whether one that understands not Hebrew nor Greek (which yet is not altogether true of St. Austin) may not for all that

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be fit to expound the Scripture, we will let pass: but this is certain, that one that does not believe the divinity of our Saviour Christ, is not fit to write harmonies, annotations, or paraphrases on it, nor translations of it. And all that abhor that heresy will be careful how they read them.

He proceeds (p. 410.) to say, without any proof there given, 'that St. Austin, as well as the other 'Fathers, has followed the doctrine of that time, 'which established a specific unity between the 'Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and a distinction 'of the numerical essence: so that, speaking pro- 'perly, they believed three essences perfectly equal, 'and strictly united in will:' (which very mention of three essences is what St. Austin spoke of with abhorrence in the words I quoted just now.) Then having mentioned a book written against himself by the abbot Faydit[m], intitled; 'A Defence of the 'Doctrine of the Fathers concerning the Trinity, 'against the Tropolatres and Socinians; or the two 'new Heresies of Steven Nye and John Le Clerc, 'Protestants:' he answers that he 'holds no he- 'resy:' he 'does not approve of the tritheism of 'the Fathers,' &c. And if it be said that the 'Fathers were not tritheists,' then he refers to the authors he uses to do; Petavius, Curcellæus, Cudworth, (as if they had not been answered,) and to the piece that I mentioned, [the Life of Gregory

[m] [See 'Apologie du système des SS. Pères sur la Trinité, contre les Tropolatres et les Sociniens, ou les deux nouvelles hérésies d'Etienne Nye et Jean le Clerc, Protestans, réfutées dans la response de l'abbé Faydit au livre du R. P. Hugo,' &c. 12mo. à Nancy, 1702. S. Nye's work is entitled, 'The Doctrine 'of the Holy Trinity,' &c. 8vo. London, 1701.]

Nazianzen,] written by himself. Where does this man think the catholic church was at that time? For he not only makes the Fathers to be heretics, (and tritheists, which is indeed to be pagans,) but calls it also 'the doctrine of that time.' CHAP. V. Year after the apostles.

But to shew us from how envenomed a spirit all this rises; and how he employs himself: he tells us, (p. 409,) that 'he has found a way to make a co-'medy of five acts, out of the stories of certain 'miracles done at Hippo, of which St. Austin speaks 'in his 322d sermon, and the following.' Now the things there related by St. Austin are (if not proper miracles in the modern sense of the word, yet) wonderful and gracious providences of God; which the word *miracula* well enough signifies, and which all pious men think themselves bound to lay to heart, and commemorate, though this man makes a mock of them. This advertisement he gives, to see, I suppose, whether this copy too will yield any money; and whether, as he has found booksellers[n] that would stand out at nothing, so he can find any players profane enough to act this his comedy. And if they be so inclined, it is pity but they should do it: that they may fill up the measure of their impiety; and that all Christian princes and states may follow the good examples of the French king in exterminating them, and of the king of Prussia in prohibiting his books.

XVI. Since the first edition of this book, Mr. Le Clerc does, in an encomium which he writes on Mr. Locke[o], own, that he has seen bishop Stillingfleet's 'Vindication of the Trinity.' And after having

[n] [See above, vol. i. p. 351.]

[o] Biblioth. Choisie, tom. vi. [p. 393.]

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passed a very slighting and contemptuous censure on what the bishop has there, and in some other pieces, written against Mr. Locke's notions, and on the other side, as much magnified his hero, (the solidity of his doctrine, the exactness of his thought, &c. whereas bishop Stillingfleet understood neither his adversary's meaning, nor the matter itself, and was never used either to think or to speak with any great exactness. See the saucy arrogance of this critic:)—he pretends at last to be surprised to find there a confutation of Curcellæus' proofs of the tritheism of the ancients. He had reason to be surprised, if he had not seen it before; because he had since the publication of it cast vile reproaches on all the ancient Christians on the credit of those proofs, which he might see here all overthrown.

What does he do upon this surprise? Does he pretend to shew by any particulars, that Curcellæus had not mistaken the sense of his own quotations, as the bishop pretended to shew that he had? Or, if he cannot do this, does he acknowledge his own slanders? Neither of these. But instead of vindicating those quotations from being wrested, he throws in one more of his own to them, which is more apparently wrested than any of them. It is out of St. Hilary *de Synodis:* 'Which book,' he says, 'Mr. Stillingfleet had not read very carefully, 'or else did not remember distinctly. For there is 'hardly any book from which one may more plainly 'prove that the orthodox of that time believed one 'God in species, [i. e. as to the sort or kind of 'Gods,] but three in number.' Is not this horrid? Three Gods in number? Did ever any Christian own this? Then he produces the passage.

It must be noted that St. Hilary there, in disputing against the Arians, does labour to shew that the term ὁμοούσιος, 'of one substance,' is the most clear and the most significative of the catholics' meaning; but yet that the term ὁμοιούσιος, 'of like 'substance,' as also the term 'of equal substance,' may be borne with and admitted, as being capable of being explained in an orthodox sense, and as being so explained and used by many catholic writers: viz. that *in divinis*, likeness or equality, are all one with identity or sameness. Speaking thus, 'Si ergo '[pater] naturam neque aliam neque dissimilem ei 'quem invisibiliter[p] [*l.* indivisibiliter] generabat, 'dedit; non potest aliam dedisse nisi propriam. 'Ita similitudo proprietas est, proprietas æqualitas 'est[q],' &c. 'If then he [God the Father] gave '[or communicated] to him whom he without any 'division begot, a nature which is not another nor 'unlike; it must be so, that he gave him no other 'than his own. So likeness, and sameness, [or 'ownness,] and equality, are all one.' And then, a few words after, comes the passage at which Mr. Le Clerc carps; 'Caret igitur, fratres, similitudo 'naturæ contumeliæ suspicione; nec potest videri 'Filius idcirco in proprietate paternæ naturæ non 'esse, quia similis est: cum similitudo nulla sit, 'nisi ex æqualitate naturæ; æqualitas autem na-'turæ non potest esse, nisi una sit; una vero non 'personæ unitate, sed GENERIS[r].' 'So that there is 'no need, brethren, that you should suspect this

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[p] [The Benedictine edition reads here *impassibiliter*.]

[q] [S. Hilarius de Synodis, prope finem. [sect. 74. p. 1192. edit. Benedict.]

[r] [Sect. 76.]

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'phrase, "likeness of nature," of any reproachful 'meaning: nor will the Son seem not to have the 'Father's own nature for that reason, because he is 'said to be *like* him. Whereas there is no likeness 'but by equality of nature, and equality of nature 'cannot [in this case, speaking of divine nature] be, 'unless it be One. One, not by unity of person, but 'of GENUS.'

Whereas Mr. Le Clerc observes here, that supposing the numerical unity of the divine essence, it is not proper to say, the nature of the Son is like or equal to that of the Father; it is true, if St. Hilary had not explained himself so, as by equality to mean identity. And whereas he observes that by the word *genus* St. Hilary shews his meaning to be of a generical or specifical unity only; this also would have some sense according to the ordinary use of the word *genus*. But St. Hilary had declared in that very book in what sense he took the word: as at the beginning of the book, in these words; 'but seeing I must often 'use the words *essence* and *substance*, we must know 'what *essence* signifies: lest we should use words, 'and not know the meaning. *Essence* is that which 'a thing is,' &c. 'And it may be called *the essence*, 'or *nature*, or *genus*, or *substance* of any thing.'—— And a little after, 'whereas therefore we say, that '*essence* does signify the *nature*, or *genus*, or *sub-* '*stance*,' &c. And constantly afterward he uses those words as synonymous. And accordingly Erasmus, in the dedication of his edition of St. Hilary's works, had said; 'of the same essence, or, as St. Hilary often 'speaks, of the same *genus* or *nature* with the Father, 'which the Greeks express ὁμοούσιον.' So that to say, *Unitate, non persona, sed generis*, is to say, 'not one

'person, but one substance:' or as he himself ex- CHAP. V.
presses it in the page before, *Non persona Deus* Year after the apostles.
unus est, sed natura. 'God is not one in person,
'but in nature.'

So unfair and pedantic a thing it is to catch hold of some single phrase or expression, whereby to account for an author's meaning through a whole book. The contrary appears by many passages in the book. Particularly by this. He as well as the other Fathers does often say, that he that should preach that the Son, as well as the Father, is unbegotten, and without any cause, fountain, origin, or principle, [which the Greeks express, ἀγέννητον καὶ ἄναρχον, *unbegotten* and *unoriginated*, or *self-originated*,] would inevitably make two Gods. Or, 'that God is one by virtue of the innascibility:' *auctoritate innascibilitatis Deus unus est.* Because though there are three persons, yet One only of them is the fountain and origin of the Deity. Or, as Tertullian expresses it, 'they are all One, inas-'much as all are of one, that is, as to unity of 'the substance.' *Contra Praxeam*, cap. 2.

Now he that speaks thus, plainly denotes a numerical unity. For a specifical unity might as well or better be conceived between three coordinate ἀγέννητα καὶ ἄναρχα: but a numerical unity cannot be conceived, without conceiving the Father as the fountain of the Deity.

CHAP. VI.

The Opinions of the Ancients concerning the future State of Infants, or other Persons, that happen to die unbaptized.

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§. I. THE account of their opinion in this matter will be best given in these particulars:

1. All the ancient Christians (without the exception of one man) do understand that rule of our Saviour, John iii. 5. *Verily, verily, I say unto thee, Except a man* [it is in the original ἐὰν μή τις, *except a person*, or *except one*] *be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God*; of baptism.

I had occasion in the First Part to bring a great many instances of their sayings: where all that
40. mention that text, from Justin Martyr down to
300. St. Austin, do so apply it: and many more might be brought. Neither did I ever see it otherwise
1430. applied in any ancient writer. I believe Calvin was the first that ever denied this place to mean baptism[r]. He gives another interpretation, which he confesses to be new. This man did indeed write many things in defence of infant-baptism. But he has done ten times more prejudice to that cause, by withdrawing (as far as in him lay) the strength of this text of Scripture, (which the ancient Christians used as a chief ground of it,) by that forced interpretation of his, than he has done good to it by all his new hypotheses and arguments. What place of Scripture is more fit to produce for the satisfaction of some plain and ordinary man, (who perhaps is not capable of apprehending the force of the conse-

[r] Institution. lib. iv. cap. 16. §. 25.

quences by which it is proved from other places,) that he ought to have his child baptized, than this, (especially if it were translated in English as it should be,) where our Saviour says, that no person shall come to heaven without it! meaning at least in God's ordinary way. It is true that Calvin does at other places determine this to be so; as I shall shew presently at §. 8. But his dictate is but a poor amends for the loss of a text of Scripture. Since his time, those parties of the protestants that have been the greatest admirers of him, have followed him in leaving out this place from among their proofs of infant-baptism, and diverting the sense of it another way: which the antipædobaptists observing, have taken their advantage, and do aim to shut off all the protestant pædobaptists from it. They are apt now to face out any of them that makes any pretence to this text, as going against the general sense of protestants. Mr. Stennet, in his late answer to Mr. Russen, (p. 73.) having said that the 'custom (of baptizing infants) seems to have taken 'its rise from a misinterpretation' (as he calls it,) 'of this text;' and having instanced in Chrysostom, Cyril, and Austin, as concluding from this place a necessity of baptism to salvation, (and he might have added to them all the ancient Christians that ever spoke of this matter as producing this text, though not this only;) he himself declares that he takes Calvin's interpretation, of which he there gives a scheme, to be the truer, you may be sure. Immediately after which, that which only *seemed* before, he now terms to be certain. And he adds, 'those of the Romish church still build their in-'fant-baptism on the same principle.' If that be

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true, then we may observe (by the way) that he takes afterward, chap. vi, a great deal of pains to no purpose, to prove that they pretend no Scripture ground at all, but only the authority of the church. 'But this principle,' he says, 'the protestants have 'justly abandoned.' If he mean the principle of an absolute impossibility of salvation for a child by mischance dying unbaptized, as raised from this text, it is true. But if he mean the principle of an impossibility of salvation to be had, according to God's ordinary rule and declaration, any other way than by baptism, I shall by and by shew, that not all the protestants, if any, have abandoned it. On the contrary, they, most of them, take this text in the sense that the Fathers did: only they judge that in determining of the future state of an infant so dying, we are not to bind God to the means that he has bound us to; but may hope that for extraordinary cases and accidents he will make an allowance. As in the case of circumcision omitted. though the rule were as peremptory as this, *That soul shall be cut off:* yet where his providence made it impracticable (as in those continual travels in the wilderness, &c.) he did not execute the penalty: and yet in ordinary cases the rule stood firm.

But see what a triumph this antipædobaptist raises, upon the supposal that the protestants have abandoned this principle. 'And since,' says he, 'this foundation is by these last [the protestants] 'allowed to be insufficient to bear the weight of in-'fant-baptism: it might be worth a further inquiry, 'whether this practice is founded on any solid 'foundation at all: and if those who appear first to 'have used it, proceeded on so great a mistake,

'whether this custom ought not to be discontinued, CHAP. V.
'as well as the basis on which it was originally Year after the apostles.
'laid.'

The judicious Mr. Hooker saw betimes the inconvenience, as well as groundlessness, of this new interpretation of Calvin's, which was then greedily embraced by Cartwright and others, that they might with better face deny any necessity of that private baptism, which had been ordered by the church in cases of extremity: and says on that account, 'I 'hold it for a most infallible rule in expositions of 'sacred Scripture, that where a literal construction 'will stand, the farthest from the letter is com-'monly the worst.———To hide the general con-'sent of antiquity agreeing in the literal interpre-'tation, they cunningly affirm, that *certain* have 'taken those words as meant of material water, 'when they know that of all the ancient there is 'not one to be named that ever did otherwise either 'expound or allege the place than as implying 'external baptism. Shall that which hath always 'received this and no other construction be now 'disguised with the toy of novelty?——God will have 'it [the sacrament] embraced not only as a sign or 'token what we receive, but also as an instrument 'or mean whereby we receive grace,' &c.—'If 'Christ himself which giveth salvation do require 'baptism, it is not for us that look for salvation to 'sound and examine him, whether unbaptized men 'may be saved, but seriously to do that which is 'required, and religiously to fear the danger which 'may grow by the want thereof,' &c. Eccles. Polity, book v. §. 59, 60.

2. By those words, *the kingdom of God*, in this

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text, they do all of them understand (as any one would naturally do) the kingdom of glory hereafter in heaven.

This is confessed by the right reverend author of the late Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, who goes about himself to affix another sense on those words, viz. that they here signify *the church*, or *the dispensation of the Messiah*. For speaking of the ancient times, he says[s], 'the words of our Saviour to Nicodemus were 'expounded so as to import the absolute necessity 'of baptism in order to salvation: for it not being 'observed that the dispensation of the Messias was 'meant by the kingdom of God, but it being taken 'to signify eternal glory, that expression of our Sa-'viour's was understood to import this, that no man 'could be saved unless he were baptized;' &c.

It must be granted, that in some places of the New Testament, by these words, *the kingdom of God*, is meant the gospel-state in this life. I gave an instance before[t], where I think it is so taken. But it is also often taken in the ordinary sense for the state of future glory. And that it should be so taken here, I crave leave to offer these reasons:

1. All the ancient expositors and other Fathers, both Greek and Latin, do, as I said, understand it so. The reader has seen a multitude of their sayings occasionally here brought, whereof not one is capable to be understood otherwise: and I believe none can be produced that is. Hermas, who set down in writing these words of our Saviour, or the

[s] Bishop Burnet on the Articles, Art. 27.

[t] Part i. ch. 19. §. 21.

substance of them, before St. John himself did, takes it so: as appears by his speaking[u] of people entering this kingdom after their death. Tertullian[x] paraphrases, 'cannot enter,' by *non habet salutem*, 'cannot be saved.' And so all the rest. Now it is hard to think that not one of the ancients should expound it right. CHAP. VI. Year after the apostles.

2. Mr. Walker, who had consulted as much on the exposition of this text as any man, takes the anti-pædobaptists for the first inventors of the new exposition: and that it was invented by them to serve a turn. For so are his words[y]: 'God's spiritual 'kingdom on earth, or the visible church, which is 'all that the anabaptists will have these words to 'signify: and upon this design, because they would 'by this distinction avoid the force of the argument 'hence for infants' baptism,' &c.

3. As he there observes, this text explains itself: for the expression being redoubled by our Saviour in verse 3, and again in verse 5, it is in verse 3, *he cannot see the kingdom of God*. And St. Austin long ago made this observation[z]; 'what he had 'said, *he cannot see*, he explained by saying, *he* '*cannot enter into*.' Now for the church here; one, that is not baptized, may see it. It is therefore plainly meant of the kingdom of glory.

4. It is not likely that our Saviour should, in his discourse with Nicodemus, introduce a sentence in so solemn a way of speaking, as to premise twice over to it these words: *Verily, verily, I say unto*

[u] See part i. ch. 1. §. 2.

[x] Ibid. ch. iv. §. 3.

[y] Modest Plea for Infants' Baptism, ch. xii. §. 8.

[z] Lib. iii. de Anima et ejus origine, cap. 11. [tom. x. p. 382. edit. Benedict.]

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thee: and yet at last the sentence should come to no more than this; that 'without baptism one can-'not be entered into the church.' For 'to be bap-'tized,' and 'to be entered into the church,' are terms much about equivalent.

Neither does it appear what the antipædobaptists gain by this interpretation of theirs, if it were consistent: since the only way, at least the only known and ordinary way, to the kingdom of glory, is by being of Christ's church, or under the dispensation of the Messiah.

As for the 'absolute necessity of baptism to 'salvation,' which the learned bishop, whom I mentioned, says these words were anciently expounded to import: I am going presently to recite the sense of the ancients particularly, how far they expounded them so, and how far not.

St. Austin is of opinion[a] that had it not been for this sentence of our Saviour, the Pelagians, when they were so hard pressed with the arguments taken from the baptism of infants, 'would have deter-'mined that infants were not to be baptized at all.'

The church of England, together with the whole ancient church, does apply and make use of this text as a ground of baptizing infants: beginning the office for it thus; 'Forasmuch as all men are 'conceived and born in sin, and that our Saviour 'Christ saith, *None can enter into the kingdom of* '*God, except he be regenerate and born anew of* '*water and of the Holy Ghost*,' &c. And afterward, 'Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that 'this child is regenerate,' &c. And they do in all the three Offices of Baptism, as soon as the party is

[a] Lib. i. de Peccatorum Meritis, cap. 30.

baptized, whether he be infant or one of riper years, give thanks that he is 'regenerated, and 'grafted into the body of Christ's church.' CHAP. VI Year after the apostles.

And whereas some people have expressed a wonder at St. Austin, that he should hold 'that all that 'are baptized are also regenerate;' no man living can read him without perceiving that he uses the word *regenerate* as another word for *baptized*, and that this with him would have been an identical proposition; as if one should say nowadays, 'all 'that are baptized, are christened.'

If some of late days have put a new sense on the word *regenerate*, how can St. Austin help that? And the church of England uses the word in the old sense.

Many of the late defenders of infant-baptism have, as I said, left out this place from among the proofs that they bring from Scripture for it: but for what reason, it is hard to imagine.

If they fear that from hence will follow a ground of absolute despair for any new convert for himself, and for any parent in respect of his child, dying before he can be baptized: is it not natural to admit of the same ἐπιείκεια and allowance in these words, as we do, and must do, in many other rules of holy Scripture? namely, to understand them thus; that this is God's ordinary rule, or the ordinary condition of salvation: but that in extraordinary cases, (where his providence cuts off all our opportunity of using it,) he has also extraordinary mercy to save without it. The ancients, as I shall shew, did hope, and even conclude so, in case of a convert believing: and many in the following ages, of an infant.

If the objection be, that it is not easy to conceive

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how an infant can be born or regenerate *of the Spirit*, (which is mentioned in the text, as well as *of water*,) since he is not capable of any operations of the Spirit on his will, &c. It is not only owned by all other Christians, that the Holy Spirit, besides his office of converting the heart, does seal and apply pardon of sin, and other promises of the covenant: but also by the antipædobaptists, that the Spirit of Christ is given or applied to infants. So says Mr. Danvers[b], 'That they are capable of salva-'tion by Christ's purchase, and the application of 'Christ's blood and Spirit to them; who doubts it? 'I am sure I never affirmed the contrary.' And Mr. Tombes; 'The grace of God electing them, 'putting them into Christ, uniting them to him 'by his Spirit[c],' &c.

The antipædobaptists do themselves make use of this place of Scripture against the Quakers and other antibaptists, (and that with good reason,) to prove the necessity of baptism. Some of them also, that can read no other than the English translation, will sometimes very unwarily urge it against the pædobaptists; and will observe that it is said, *Except a* man *be born*, &c. it is not said, a *child*: concluding from the word, that he that is so born must be a man grown. But these, you will say, are right English divines. This may be retorted on them: for the original is not ἐαν μὴ ἀνὴρ, or, ἐαν μὴ ἄνθρωπος; 'except a man:' but ἐαν μὴ τὶς, 'except 'any one.' And so the text is understood by the ancients; and by all that can read the original.

[b] Answer to Appeal, p. 9.

[c] Examen. [of Marshall's sermon, part ii. sect. 10. p. 33. edit. 4to. 1645.]

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It is a common thing with the antipædobaptists, when they are attacked with that argument, that women's receiving the communion is no more plainly expressed in Scripture, than infant-baptism, to answer by citing that text; Δοκιμαζέτω ἑαυτὸν ἄνθρωπος, &c. 'Let a man examine himself, and 'so let him eat,' &c., and to urge that the word ἄνθρωπος being of the common gender includes women as well as men. And they will frequently boast and say, 'Do but produce as good proof for 'baptizing infants as this text affords for women's 'receiving, and we will comply.' Nevertheless, it is not advisable for them to venture any more on this challenge than they can be content to lose. For the word τὶς used here, ἐαν μὴ τὶς, does (much more naturally than the word ἄνθρωπος) signify any one, or any person, man, woman, or child. It is only an Anglicism to say, *Except a* man, instead of, *Except a* person *be born of water*, &c.

2. Though the ancients understood the foresaid text to mean baptism, and though the words are peremptory, yet they were of opinion that God Almighty did in some extraordinary cases, when baptism could not be had, dispense with his own law. And one case, which they all agreed to be exempted, was that of martyrs. If any one had such faith in Christ, as willingly to sacrifice his life for the testimony of his truth; they concluded that such a man, whether he had as yet been baptized or not, was received into the kingdom of heaven: for this they called *baptismum sanguinis*, 'a being 'baptized in blood:' referring to that of our Saviour, Matt. xx. 22. *Ye shall be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with.*

CHAP. VI. So Tertullian[d], 'We have also another baptism,
Your allusion upon the operation.
'(which as well as the other can be used but once,)
'namely, that of blood.' 'Hic est baptismus qui
400. 'lavacrum et non acceptum repræsentat, et perdi-
'tum reddit.' 'This is a baptism which will either
'supply the place of water-baptism to one that has
'not received it, or will restore it to one that has
340. 'lost [or destroyed] it.' The same thing is owned by
342. Cyprian[e].

St. Cyril, who says thus; 'If one be never so
'upright, and yet do not receive the seal of water,
'he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven: this
'is a bold speech, but it is none of mine; it is Jesus
'Christ that has made this decree[f]:' yet afterward,
in the same oration, excepts martyrs.

407. So likewise Fulgentius, as positive as he is, that
none can be saved without baptism, yet puts it,
'Excepto illo, qui pro Christi nomine suo sanguine
'baptizatur[g].' 'Except those who are for the name
'of Christ baptized in their own blood.' Gennadius
494. speaks to the same purpose[h].

And St. Austin says[i], 'Ever since the time that
'our Saviour said, *Except any one be born again of*
'*water*, &c., and at another place, *He that shall lose*
'*his life for my sake shall find it*: no person is
'made a member of Christ, but either by baptism
'in Christ, or by death for Christ.'

8. Beside the case of martyrs: if a heathen man was arrived to some degree of belief of the Christian religion, and confession of it, and yet

[d] De Baptismo, cap. 16
[e] Epist. 73. ad Jubaianum.
[f] Catech. 3.
[g] De Fide ad Petrum, cap. 30.
[h] De Eccles. Dogmatibus. cap 74
[i] Lib. i. de Anima, et ejus origine. cap 9.

died without baptism; they judged of his case with some distinction. CHAP. VI.

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For if the man had shewn a contempt or gross neglect of baptism as a needless thing, and then were cut off by death without receiving it; they judged such a case to be hopeless. Tertullian him- 100.
self calls that a wicked doctrine, 'to think that 'baptism is not necessary to those that have faith.' His words you have before, part i. ch. 4. §. 3. And St. Ambrose[k] speaks of it as a received opinion, 274.
'that a catechumen, though he believe in the cross '[or death] of the Lord Jesus, yet unless he be 'baptized in the name of the Father, Son, and 'Holy Spirit, cannot receive remission of sins, nor 'be partaker of the gift of spiritual grace.' He must mean, of those that refuse or contemn baptism, as will appear by what I shall quote from him by and by. And Gregory Nazianzen, speaking of 260.
three sorts of persons that die unbaptized, reckons these the worst, and likely to have the greatest punishment. His words are recited in part i. ch. 11. §. 6. St. Austin's words also I produced before, part i. ch. 15. sect. 4. §. 3. 'But when a man 'goes without it by his wilful neglect of it, he is 'involved in guilt: for that must not be called a 'conversion of the heart to God, when God's sacra-'ment is contemned.' So that the learned Vossius, in his book of baptism, Disp. 6. Thes. 6. having spoken of some points of baptism in which the opinions of the Fathers differed, owns them to have been unanimous in this: 'This is,' says he, 'the judgment of all antiquity, that they perish

[k] Lib. de his qui initiantur, c. 4. [sect. 20. Op. tom. ii. p. 330.]

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'serve it. "But I therefore receive it not, because 'I am afraid." But are you not afraid to die in 'this condition?———He that sins after baptism '(as it is like he will, being but a man) will, if he 'repent, obtain mercy. But he that, making a 'sophistical use of the mercy of God, departs this 'life without the grace, will have inevitable punish-'ment.' And afterward, 'In what anguish of mind 'am I, think you, when I hear of any one that is 'dead that was not baptized, considering those 'unsufferable torments?' And in another tract[s], 'If sudden death seize us, which God forbid, before 'we are baptized; though we have a thousand good 'qualities, there is nothing to be expected but hell.'

150. Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, who was of the same opinion as St. Cyprian was, that baptism given by heretics is null, asks (by way of objection to himself) this question[t]; what should be said of the case of those, who having come from the heretics to the church, and having been received without a new baptism, were since dead without it? He answers; 'They are to be accounted in the same 'state as those that have been catechumens among 'us, and have died before they were baptized.' But what he thought that state to be, cannot be plainly known, because the next words are very obscure: yet Rigaltius, by an amendment of the words, (without the authority of any manuscript,) makes them favourable for the case of such deceased persons: and bishop Fell[u] allows of his opinion.

[s] Hom. 24. in Joann. [tom. viii. p. 147.]

[t] Apud Cyprian. Epist. 75. prope finem.

[u] [See Cypriani Opera, edit. Fell. Oxon. 1682. part. ii. p. 226.]

were *double-minded, waver-* CHAP. VI.
l fro in their resolutions; Year after the apostles.
such shall receive nothing

ptism a long time, fearing
fall into sin again. These
d advises to stay till the 100.
nd says at one place[o], that
uld happen to miss of bap-
secure of salvation.' But
commend this practice; as
rmons made to the catechu-
regory Nazianzen, St. Gre-
tom, and others.
is the 'deceit of the Devil 260.
and cheating men of the
rsuading them to an over-
ns of their fear of staining
altogether miss of it[p].'
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e should fall into sin after,
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but of those that die without
he says, 'When I hear that
Verily, verily, I say unto
born again, &c. I dare not
hose that are not initiated.'
in these men arguing; and 380.
n afraid;" says one. If you
ld receive baptism and pre-

[p] Or. 40.
ferunt baptismum.
om. ix. p. 11, 13. edit. Montf.]

CHAP. VI. Year after the apostles.

tism [y], that he feared either hell, or at least the loss of heaven.

St. Ambrose speaks at one place doubtfully of these men's escaping punishment, but more doubtfully of their obtaining any reward, in the words which I cited in part i. ch. 13. §. 2. 'But suppose 'they do obtain a freedom from punishment, yet I 'question whether they shall have the crown of the 'kingdom.' But yet afterward he gives his opinion positively in the case of Valentinian, (who missed of baptism in the manner we now speak of,) that his desire of baptism was accepted instead of baptism, not only for pardon, but also for glorification: as was shewed in ch. iii. sect. 3. §. 3.

St. Austin embraces this opinion of St. Ambrose last mentioned; and gives a proof of it out of Scripture from the example of the penitent thief: 'Which,' says he[z], 'when I consider thoroughly, I 'find that not only martyrdom for the name of 'Christ may supply the want of baptism; but also 'faith and the conversion of the heart, in a case 'where by reason of the straitness of the time the 'sacrament of baptism cannot be celebrated. For 'that thief was not crucified for the name of 'Christ, but for his own ill deserts: neither did he 'suffer for his belief; but while he was suffering, 'he came to believe. So that in his case it appears 'how much that which the apostle says, *with the 'heart we believe unto righteousness, and with the 'mouth confession is made unto salvation*, does 'avail without the visible sacrament of baptism.

[y] See ch. iii. sect. 6. §. 1.

[z] Contra Donatistas, lib. iv. cap. 22. [Op. tom. ix. p. 139. edit. Benedict.]

'But it is then fulfilled invisibly, when not the 'contempt of religion, but some sudden exigent of 'necessity, keeps one from baptism.' CHAP. VI. Year after the apostles.

Since this thief had a promise of paradise; it is plain that St. Austin means, that a man dying in that case may have hopes, not only of impunity, but of reward. Besides that he thought there is no middle place.

In his Retractations [a], he considers this matter over again; and says, the example of the thief is not absolutely fit for this purpose, 'because one is not 'sure whether he were baptized or not,' i. e. some time in his life before, which is very improbable. Yet he insists on the probability of it in his writings against Vincentius Victor [b].

IV. One might have thought, that they should have as good hopes of the state of an infant dying unbaptized, as of a heathen convert, who believed, and sincerely desired baptism, dying likewise unbaptized: since it may be said of the infant, as well as of the other, that it is not his fault, but mischance, that he is not baptized. And Nazianzen and the others that do allot a middle state to the one, do allot the same to the other. But St. Austin, and those who allow of no state absolutely middle, have hopes of the convert's (such as the thief was) going to heaven, though unbaptized; but no hopes of an unbaptized infant's escaping some degree of condemnation.

The reason of the difference, as they seem to understand it, is, that whereas God ordinarily requires both faith and baptism, yet that either of them

[a] Lib. ii. cap. 18. [Op. tom. i. p. 48.]

[b] [See above, part i. ch. 20. sect. 2. &c.]

CHAP. VI. (when the other cannot be had) may suffice to salvation. As the thief having no baptism, but having faith and the desire of baptism, was saved: and infants, having not faith, but having baptism are saved: but infants dying unbaptized, having neither faith nor baptism, cannot escape some degree of condemnation for original sin.

Year after the apostles.

To this purpose are St. Austin's words[c]; 'as in 'the case of the thief, who by necessity went with-'out baptism corporally, salvation was obtained, 'because he spiritually was partaker of it by his 'godly desire: so where that [baptism] is had, sal-'vation is likewise obtained, though the party go 'without that [faith] which the thief had.' And so
1015. likewise St. Bernard[d] resolves the case from St. Austin. Having said that a man having faith, and the desire of baptism, may be saved though he miss of baptism, he adds; 'infants indeed, since by reason 'of their age they cannot have faith, nor the con-'version of the heart to God, consequently can have 'no salvation if they die without baptism.'

The ancients had not all of them the same opinion concerning the death that is brought on mankind by
254. original sin. The author of that Comment which has been ascribed to St. Ambrose, but has since been thought to be Hilary the deacon's, and by others to be mixed out of several ancient works, thinks it to be only temporal death. The words that are two or three lines before those I am going to recite, are for certain Hilary's, (for St. Austin quotes them

[c] De Baptismo contra Donatistas, lib. iv. cap. 23. [Op. tom. ix. p. 140.]

[d] Epist. 77. ad Hugonem de Sancto Victore. [Op. tom. ii. p. 98, &c. edit. fol. Paris. 1586.]

under his name [e]. The words to this purpose are these, Comment. in Rom. v. Having spoken of the death which St. Paul says came on all by Adam's sin, he adds; 'there is also another death, which 'is called the second death in hell, which we do not 'suffer for the sin of Adam: but by occasion 'thereof it is brought on us by our own sins.' It is plain this man would not have sentenced infants to the second death in hell. But the more common opinion, I think, especially in the western parts, was, that the death threatened to Adam, and coming by original sin on all by nature, is eternal death. Pacianus teaches so in his Sermon of Baptism [f]: 'Mind, O beloved, in what death a man is 'before he be baptized. You know that received 'point, that Adam was the head of our earthly 'origin: whose condemnation brought on him sub-'jection to eternal death, and on all his posterity, 'who were all under one law.'

CHAP. VI. Year after the apostles. 360.

Accordingly they differed concerning the future state of infants dying unbaptized: but all agreed that they missed of heaven.

Those of the Greek church do generally incline to the opinion of that middle state. Their words are cited in the first part: viz. Nazianzen's, ch. xi. §. 6. Those of the author of the questions in Justin Martyr, ch. xxiii. §. 3. And those of the author of the *Quæstiones ad Antiochum*, ibid. The opinion of Pelagius, (who conversed most in the Greek church,) ch. xix. *passim*. The words of St. Ambrose (who transcribed most that he wrote from Greek authors), ch. xiii. §. 2.

[e] Lib. iv. ad Bonifac. cap. 4. [Sect. 7. Op. tom. x. p. 472.]

[f] [See this in the Bibliotheca Patrum, tom. iv. p. 246. edit. Colon. 1618.]

CHAP. VI. Year after the apostles.

But St. Austin, and most of the Latin church in his time, holding no such middle state, do believe such infants under some degree of condemnation: whose words you have in the fifteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth chapters. Both one and the other agree in this, that infants dying unbaptized cannot come to the kingdom of heaven.

How hard soever this opinion may seem, it is the constant opinion of the ancients: none ever having maintained the contrary in these times, nor a great
319. while after, except that Vincentius Victor mentioned in the twentieth chapter of the First Part, who also quickly recanted. St. Austin, in a letter to St. Hierome, [g] says, 'Whoever should affirm that in-'fants which die without partaking of this sacrament 'shall be quickened in Christ, would both go against 'the apostles' preaching, and also would condemn 'the whole church: *universam ecclesiam.*' And of the Pelagians, who, believing no original sin, had therefore the most favourable opinion of any that was then held, of the natural state of infants, he says: 'that even they, being awed by the authority 'of the Gospel, or rather *Christianorum populorum* '*concordissima fidei conspiratione perfracti*, being 'overswayed by the agreeing consent in the faith of 'all Christian people, *sine ulla recusatione conce-* '*dunt quod nullus parvulus, nisi*, &c. do without 'any tergiversation own, that no infant that is not 'born again of water and of the Spirit, does enter 'into the kingdom of God [h].'

Tertullian himself, who at one place advises to keep children unbaptized till the age of reason, is

[g] Epist. 28. [166. in edit. Benedict.]

[h] Epist. 105. ad Sixtum, prope finem [cap. 7. sect. 52. Epist. 194. edit. Benedict.]

thought by the pædobaptists, and confessed by some of the other side, to mean 'when there is no danger 'of death before:' because he owns it for a standing rule, that 'without baptism there is no salvation 'for any person[i].' CHAP. VI. Year after the apostles.

And Nazianzen, who advises to defer their baptism till they are three years old or thereabouts, expresses himself with this limitation, 'if there be 'no danger of death.' And if there be any danger, advises it to be given out of hand, as a thing without which they will, he says, 'not be glorified[k].' And except these two, none speak of any delay of it at all.

V. But that party that believed no middle state, and thought that the Scripture obliges us to confess that infants are under some degree of condemnation, and that they are *by nature children of* that *wrath* mentioned Eph. ii. 3; yet believed that it is a very moderate and mild punishment which they shall suffer, if they die unbaptized. This I speak of the times of our period of the first four centuries: for afterward the opinion grew more rigid, as we shall see.

St. Austin does very often assert this mild degree of their condemnation; because the Pelagians did not fail to represent the doctrine of original sin odious, upon the account of such infants as missed of baptism, sometimes not by their parents' fault, but by some unavoidable accident. He thinks it necessary to maintain against these men the doctrine itself, though it be severe: but he takes care not to represent it more severe than he thought the

[i] See part i. ch. 4. §. 3.

[k] See part i. ch. 11. §. 6.

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[k] See part i. ch. 11. §. 6.

CHAP. VI. Year after the apostasy.

plain words of Scripture enforced. Therefore as in one place of his book[1], *De Peccatorum Meritis*, he says, 'Let us not therefore of our own head promise 'any eternal salvation to infants without the bap- 'tism of Christ, which the holy Scripture, that is to 'be preferred to all human wit, does not promise.' So in another chapter of that book he has these words:

'It may well be said, that infants departing this 'life without baptism will be under the mildest 'condemnation of all. But he that affirms that they 'will not be under condemnation, does much deceive 'us, and is deceived himself: when, as the apostle 'says, *Judgment came on all men to condemnation*[m],' &c. To the same purpose he speaks in his Enchiridion, cap. 93.

In another book of his it appears how mild he thought this condemnation might be: even so mild, that to be in that state might be better than to have no being at all. For Julian the Pelagian had objected, that if the doctrine of original sin were true, it were a cruel and wicked thing to beget children; who would be born in a state of condemnation, and consequently in such a state as that it were to be wished they had never been born: citing that of our Saviour, *Well were it for that man that he had never been born.* To this St. Austin answers[n], that God is the author of being to all men; many of whom, as Julian must confess, will be eternally condemned: and yet God is not to be accused of cruelty for creating them. And further, that all

[1] Cap. 23. [m] Cap. 15.

[n] Lib. v. contra Julianum. cap. 11. [Sect. 44. Op. tom. x. p. 650. edit. Benedict.]

godly parents will take all care possible for baptizing their children, which will take off that original guilt, and make them heirs of a glorious kingdom. And as to those infants that yet die unbaptized, answers thus: CHAP. VI. Year after the apostles.

'I do not say, that infants dying without the bap-
'tism of Christ will be punished with so great pain,
'as that it were better for them not to have been
'born: since our Lord spoke this, not of all sinners,
'but of the most profligate and impious ones. For
'if in the day of judgment some shall be punished
'in a more tolerable degree than others; as he said
'of the men of Sodom, and would be understood not
'of them only: who can doubt, but that infants un-
'baptized, who have only original sin, and are not
'loaded with any sins of their own, will be in the
'gentlest condemnation of all? Which as I am not
'able to define what or how great it will be; so I
'dare not say that it would be better for them not
'to be at all, than to be in that state.

'And you yourselves, who contend that they are
'free from all condemnation, are not willing to con-
'sider to what condemnation you make them sub-
'ject, when you separate from the life of God and
'the kingdom of God so many images of God: and
'also when you separate them from their pious
'parents, whom you expressly encourage to the be-
'getting of them. If they have no original sin, it
'is unjust that they should suffer so much as that:
'or if they suffer that justly, then they have original
'sin.'

He shews that the future state in which the Pelagians thought such infants would be, is not so different from that in which he judged they would

CHAP. VI. Year after the apostles.

be, as they did invidiously represent. For they confessed that without baptism they could not come to the kingdom of God, but must eternally be separated from God and from their parents: but they would not call this condemnation. He judged that they were under condemnation, but so gentle, that probably that state would be better than no being at all; and consequently, that they or their parents would have no reason to wish that they had never been born.

St. Austin does so generally observe this rule of speaking with great caution and tenderness of the degree of their condemnation; that when Erasmus came to revise his works, he quickly found that the *de Fide ad Petrum* was none of his[o]; for this reason among others, because the author (who is since known to be Fulgentius) does express the condemnation of infants that die unbaptized in such rigid terms, as that 'whether they die in their mother's 'womb, or after they are born[p], one must hold for 'certain and undoubted, that they are *ignis æterni* '*supplicio sempiterno puniendi*, to be tormented 'with the everlasting punishment of eternal fire;' and again[q], *interminabilia gehennæ sustinere supplicia: ubi Diabolus*, &c. 'to suffer the endless tor-'ments of hell; where the Devil with his angels is 'to burn for evermore. This,' says Erasmus, 'I 'never read any where else in St. Austin; though 'he does frequently use the words *punishment, con-'demnation, perishing*.'

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[o] Erasmi Censura ad istum librum. [See this, among the supposititious pieces, in the Appendix to tom. vi. p. 19, &c. of the Benedictine edition.]

[p] Cap. 27. [q] Cap. 3. [sect. 36.]

Erasmus' observation is true for the general. Yet it must be confessed, that in one sermon[r] of his, where he is eagerly declaiming against the Pelagians, who taught that infants were baptized not for eternal life but for the kingdom of heaven, and that if they die unbaptized they will miss of the kingdom of heaven indeed, but have eternal life in some other good place; he confutes their opinion thus: 'Our Lord will come to judge the quick and 'the dead: and he will make two sides, the right 'and the left. To those on the left hand he will 'say, *Depart into everlasting fire*, &c. To those 'on the right, *Come, receive the kingdom*,' &c. He 'calls one *the kingdom*; the other, *condemnation* 'with *the Devil*. There is no middle place left 'where you can put infants.'—And afterward; 'Thus I have explained to you what is *the kingdom*, 'and what *everlasting fire*: so that when you con- 'fess the infant will not be in *the kingdom*, you 'must acknowledge he will be in *everlasting fire*.' CHAP. VI. Year after the apostles.

But these words came from him in the midst of a declamatory dispute. He would, if he had been to explain himself, have said, as in other places, that this fire would be to them the most moderate of all. Though he speak of this matter one or two thousand times, yet he never, as I know of, mentions the word *eternal fire* in their case but here. So that we must either conclude that the heat of controversy carried him in that extempore sermon beyond his usual thought; or else we must conclude, by Erasmus' rule, that that sermon is none of his.

[r] De verbis Apostoli, Serm. 14. [294. edit. Benedict. op. tom. v. p. 1185.]

CHAP. VI. Year after the apostles.

It was the foresaid book of Fulgentius, (which asserts this dogmatically, and over and over,) being commonly joined with his works, and taken for his, that fixed on him in after-ages the title of *Durus infantum pater:* 'The father that is so hard to
410. 'infants.' It was Fulgentius, that lived one hundred years after, and not he, that most deserved that name.

Whereas Grotius observes[s], that St. Austin never expressed any thing at all of their condemnation, not even to those lesser pains, till after he had been heated by the Pelagian disputes; seeming to intimate that he was not of that opinion before; but took it up then in opposition to the Pelagians: I have shewed before[t] what St. Austin himself says to that imputation; for it was objected by some in his lifetime.

VI. I shall here make a short excursion beyond my limits of four hundred years: and see how the opinions of men did come to some abatement of this
433. rigour after the time of Fulgentius, who died anno 533.

500. In pope Gregory's time, anno Dom. 600, the opinion of their being tormented continued. For he speaks thus[u]: 'Some are taken from this present 'life before they come to have any good or ill de- 'serts by their own deeds: and having not the sa- 'crament of salvation for their deliverance from ori- 'ginal sin, though they have done nothing of their 'own here, yet there they come *ad tormenta*, to

[s] Annot. in Matth. cap. xix. 14.

[t] Part i. ch. 15. sect. 3. §. 2.

[u] Lib. ix. Exposit. Moral. in Job. cap. 16. [c. 21. tom. i. p. 303. edit. Benedict.]

'torments.' And a little after; *perpetua tormenta* CHAP. VI.
percipiant, 'they undergo eternal torments.'

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The same, or at least the opinion of moderate torments, continued down to Anselm's time: for he 290.
speaks thus on that subject [x];——'Though all shall 'not be equally tormented in hell. For after the 'day of judgment, there will be no angel or human 'person, but what will be either in the kingdom 'of God, or else in hell. So then the sin of infants 'is less than the sin of Adam: and yet none can be 'saved without that universal satisfaction, by which 'sin, be it great or small, is to be forgiven.'

Thus far it continued. But about this time the doctrine of the church of Rome and the western world took a great turn in this point: and they came over to the opinion of the Greek doctors that I mentioned. For Peter Lombard, anno Dom. 1150, 1050.
determines [y], that the proper punishment of original sin (where there is no actual sin added to it) is *pœna damni, non pœna sensus*, 'the punishment 'of loss, (viz. loss of heaven and the sight of God,) 'but not the punishment of sense, viz. of positive 'torment.'

Pope Innocent the third confirms this, by deter- 1100.
mining [z] that the 'punishment of original sin is '*carentia visionis Dei*, being deprived of the sight 'of God: and of actual sin the punishment to be '*gehennæ perpetuæ cruciatus*, the torments of an 'everlasting hell.'

[x] Lib. de conceptione Virginis et peccato originali, cap. 22.
[y] Lib. 2. Sentent. Distinct. 33.
[z] Decret. lib. 3. cap. de Baptismo, can. *Majores*.

CHAP. VI. Then Alexander de Ales[a] and
Years after the question. the whole troop of schoolmen, do
by their determination. They s
Virgin. Mary's Limbus. place or state of hell or hades,
limbus, or *infernus puerorum*,
infants will be in no other torment
but the loss of heaven.

But they did not know what
authority of the book *de Fide ad*
mentioned, and which they took t
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'make no question of it, that th
'with eternal fire.' Yet see the
tions. Alexander de Ales answers
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'either on account of the heat of it
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[a] Summ
[a] Parte
[b] Loco
[c] Lib. 2.
in primo
fol. 104, &

called the tormenter of children) and Driedo [d], endeavoured to revive the opinion of Fulgentius: but found no followers, after that the other opinion had been countenanced. The doctrine of eternal torments finds a difficulty in sinking into men's belief, (if they have considered what eternity is,) when it is applied to the case of wicked men. Much more in the case of infants, who have in their own person not known or committed good or evil, and have only the stain of nature. And our Saviour, speaking of grown men, says, *They shall be beaten with few stripes, if they be ignorant persons, and such as knew not their master's will.* How much more must that rule hold in the case of infants, who never were capable of any sense at all about it!

Dr. Field, in his book of the church[e], is pleased to call this opinion of the schools a Pelagian conceit. But I have proved that it is elder, especially in the Greek church, than Pelagius; and was held by those that acknowledged original corruption: which corruption, they confessed, carried with it, in unbaptized persons, condemnation. But they thought the loss of heaven for ever was that condemnation; and that when there was no actual sin in the case, there would no positive punishment, or a very gentle one, be added. They thought that that alone made a mighty difference between infants baptized, and those that die unbaptized; that the one should enter into the kingdom of heaven, the other

[d] Lib. i. de gratia et libero arbitrio, tract. 3. [See Joannis Driedonis a Turnhout Opera, tom. iii. fol. 69, &c. fol. Lovanii 1552—1556. The author was professor of divinity in the university of Louvain.]

[e] Lib. iii. Appendix.

CHAP. VI. eternally miss of it: according to that sentence of our Saviour before mentioned, John iii. 5.

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This opinion of no positive punishment, or a very gentle one, was afterward so general, that when the contrary one was anew set up by the protestants, it was by some adjudged to be heresy. For Father Paul, in giving an account how the council of Trent [f] prepared their decrees about original sin, (which were determined in the fifth session, June 17,
1446. 1546,) mentions their disputes among themselves, whether they should condemn as heretical that proposition of the Lutherans, 'that the punishment 'for original sin is hell fire:' and says it missed very narrowly being anathematized: it was only out of respect to St. Austin and Gregorius Ariminensis that they forbore. The good Fathers doubtless mistook, as well as other men, Fulgentius' book for St. Austin's; so that the blow had in great measure missed him: but by what I produced before out of pope Gregory the first, 'They shall 'undergo eternal torments;' it appears that they were nigh doing a greater mischief. There wanted but an ace but they had branded one of the most renowned bishops of the infallible see for a heretic. A shot that would have recoiled on themselves.

VII. All mentioned hitherto have taken for granted that there is no hope of such infants entering the kingdom of heaven: only they differ about their positive punishment, or the degree of it. But some others have conceived hopes of their obtaining that also in one case: which is, when the parents, being good Christians, do in heart and purpose dedicate

[f] History of the Council of Trent, book ii. [page 167, 168. edit. Brent. London, fol. 1676.]

their child to God, and pray for it, and do their best endeavour to get it baptized; but are prevented by its sudden death. CHAP. VI. Year after the apostles.

I have taken some pains (more perhaps than such a particular thing deserves) to find who was the first that ventured to declare this charitable opinion, after it had been so decried by the ancients, and recanted by Vincentius. I find none elder than Hincmarus archbishop of Rhemes, anno Dom. 860. who expressed such hopes; but it was in a case that was very particular. A certain rash and stubborn bishop in his province, named Hincmarus too, bishop of Laudun, had excommunicated all his clergy, so that there was nobody to give baptism, absolution, or burial. The archbishop writes a severe reproof to him [5], and in it takes occasion to speak of the fate of such infants, as had in the meantime died without baptism; hoping that they by God's extraordinary mercy might be saved, though he had done what lay in him for their perishing. He argues thus; 'As in the case of 'infants that are under the guilt of the sin of na-'ture, that is, the sins of others; the faith of others, 'that is, of their godfathers that answer for them 'in baptism, is a means of their salvation: so also 'to those infants to whom you have caused bap-'tism to be denied, the faith and godly desire of 'their parents or godfathers, who in sincerity de-'sired baptism for them, but obtained it not; may 'be a help (or profit) by the gift of him whose 'Spirit (which gives regeneration) breathes where 'it pleases.' I have occasion to mention this Hincmarus of Laudun again in the next chapter, §. 1. 760.

[5] Opusculum 55. capitulorum, cap. 48.

CHAP. VI. because Danvers, reading somewhere that his metro-
Year after the apostles. politan reproved him for suffering infants to die unbaptized, concluded that he was doubtless a bishop for his turn.

1155. Then for the case of an infant dying in the womb, the schoolmen before mentioned, Alex. de Ales and Aquinas, do say [h], that 'such an infant being 'subject to no action of man, but of God only; he 'may have ways of saving it for ought we know.' They extend this no further than to the case of a stillborn infant: though the reason seems much the same for one that dies before he can possibly be baptized.

Vossius brings in St. Bernard [i], Petrus Blesensis, Hugo de Sancto Victore, and even St. Austin himself, as asserting a possibility of salvation, and the kingdom of heaven, without baptism: and he seems to understand this their assertion to extend to the case of infants. But the places of St. Austin and Bernard are no other than those I recited at §. 4 of this chapter: which do expressly exclude infants, and speak only of grown men, whose actual faith and desire of baptism makes amends for the want of it where it cannot be had. And the places in the other two, Blesensis and Hugo, do, if one examine them, speak to no other purpose.

The next therefore that I know of, that has any favourable opinion, or rather suspends all opinion, of the case of such infants, is our Wickliffe: whose words are these [k]; 'When an infant of believers is

[h] Part. iii. Quæst. 68. Art. 11.

[i] De Baptismo, Disp. 7. Thesi. 22, 23. [Op. tom. vi. p. 281.]

[k] Trialog. lib. iv. cap. 11. [See Joannis Wiclefi Dialogorum libri quatuor, 4°. sine loco, 1525. fol. 118, 119.—This rare

'brought to church, that according to Christ's rule 'he may be baptized; and the water or some other 'requisite is wanting; and the people's pious intention continuing, he dies in the meantime naturally 'by the will of God: it seems hard to define positively the damnation of such an infant; when neither the infant nor the people have sinned, that he 'should be damned. Where then is the merciful 'liberality of Christ?' &c. CHAP. VI. Year after the apostles.

Then he discourses some things preparatory to his answer, too large to repeat here: but his answer is this; chap. xii. 'And by this, I answer your third 'objection, granting that God, if he will, may damn 'such an infant, and do him no wrong; and if he 'will, he can save him: and I dare not define either 'part. Nor am I careful about reputation, or 'getting evidence in the case; but as a dumb man 'am silent, humbly confessing my ignorance, using 'conditional words: because it is not clear to me 'whether such an infant shall be saved or damned. 'But I know that whatever God does in it will be 'just, and a work of mercy to be praised of all the 'faithful.' Then he calls them presumptuous that of their own authority define any thing in this case. He counts it rash to determine their damnation: and, on the other side, says, 'he that says, "that in 'this case put, an infant shall be saved, as is pious 'to believe," puts himself more than needs, or will 'profit him, upon an uncertainty.' In the next chapter he handles the degree of their punishment in case they be damned: and he determines it

piece was reprinted (according to Brunet,) at Frankfort in 1753, and at Bareuth in 1754.]

CHAP. VI. Year after the apostles.

contrary to the schools, that it will be not only loss of heaven, but sensible punishment.

It is to be noted, that he had spoke his mind before of the state of infants that are baptized, as being out of danger. For in chap. xii, having discoursed of three sorts of baptism; viz. of water, of blood, and of the Spirit; and that the third is the chief; and that God, for ought we know, may sometimes grant that without the other: he adds, 'Reputamus 'tamen absque dubietate, quod infantes recte baptizati 'flumine, sint baptizati tertio baptismate, cum ha- 'bent gratiam baptismalem.' 'But we hold that to be 'without doubt, that infants that are rightly bap- 'tized with water, are baptized with the third bap- 'tism, [viz. that of the Spirit,] when as [or seeing 'that] they have the baptismal grace.'

This last I note, because Mr. Danvers[l] had brought this man for one of his witnesses against infant-baptism; taking a great deal of pains to shew how great a man Wickliffe was. And what is worse, he had cited some passages out of this book, and these very chapters; taking here and there a scrap, which by itself might seem to make for his purpose.

Mr. Baxter[m], to answer him and vindicate Wickliffe, transcribed the whole passage of the length of several pages. A thing that is tedious, but yet necessary in answering such quoters. 'And now 'reader judge,' says Mr. Baxter, 'what a sad case 'poor, honest, ignorant Christians are in, that must 'have their souls seduced, troubled, and led into 'separations, &c. by such a man,——when a man as 'pleading for Christ and baptism dare, not only

[l] Treatise of Baptism, part ii. ch. 7. p. 280. edit. 2.

[m] More Proofs, part iii. p. 353.

'print such things, but stand to them in a second 'edition, and defend them by a second book.' CHAP. V. Year after the apostles.

But all this did no good upon him. For that he might shew himself the most tenacious man that ever lived, of what he had once said, he does in another reply[a] after that, go about with a great many words to maintain his point.

I shall be so civil to my reader as to take for granted that the words of Wickliffe here given, though but a small part of those produced by Mr. Baxter, do satisfy him: for if an author give his opinion in plain words, that all baptized infants are in a state of salvation; but make a question of those that die unbaptized, whether they can be saved or not; and do also speak of the baptizing of an infant as being *according to Christ's rule*, and do call the people's intention of doing it *a pious intention*: one needs no plainer account of his approving it. If Wickliffe had ever spoke a word against the baptizing of infants, the council of Constance would not have failed in those forty-five articles drawn up against him, after his death, to have objected that; for they commonly overdo that work: whereas they object nothing about baptism; and what others object is, that he gave hopes that some unbaptized infants might come to heaven. 1315.

The same thing appears in the tenets of Wickliffe's scholars that survived him. For Foxe, in his Martyrology[o], recites out of the register of the church of Hereford, a declaration of faith made by one Walter Brute, a scholar of Wickliffe, examined before the bishop of Hereford, anno Dom. 1393. in 1393.

[a] [See Danvers' Second Reply, 8°. 1675. p. 120, &c.]

[o] Second edition, vol. i. p. 453.

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which he says, 'I greatly marvel at that saying in 'the decrees which is ascribed to Austin, that little 'children that are not baptized shall be tormented 'with eternal fire, although they were born of 'faithful parents, who wished them with all their 'hearts to have been baptized.——How shall the 'infant be damned that is born of faithful parents 'that do not despise, but rather desire to have their
1395. 'children baptized?' &c. And afterward, in the time of Henry IV, one of the articles usually enjoined for the Lollards, who were the disciples of Wickliffe, to recant, was, as Foxe[p] recites it, this; 'that an infant, though he die unbaptized, shall be 'saved.' But there is no such thing in Foxe, as Danvers[q] would prove out of a book he calls Dutch Martyrology, that one Clifford informed the archbishop, that a Lollard, if he had a child new-born, would not have him baptized. Foxe does indeed
1428. tell[r] how a good while after, in the time of Henry VI, some Lollards of Norfolk had, among other articles, this objected to them; that they held or taught, 'that Christian people be sufficiently baptized in the 'blood of Christ, and need no water: and that in-'fants be sufficiently baptized, if their parents be 'baptized before them: and that the sacrament 'of baptism used in the church by water is but 'a light matter and of small effect.' But he shews at the same place, that in all probability both this and several other of the articles charged on them, were by the informers altered in words from what they had said, on purpose to make them odious: which was the constant vein of the

[p] Second edition, vol. i. p. 485.

[q] Treatise, part ii. ch. 7. [p. 303.]

[r] Foxe, as above, p. 658.

popish accusers of those times Wickliffe had said, that the water itself, without the baptism of the Spirit, is of little efficacy. And he and his followers had said, that if the parents be good Christians, and pray for their child, there is hope that it may be saved, though it do by some sudden chance die before it can be baptized. And if these men said no more than so, yet that was enough for their adversaries to frame such a slanderous information. But if we suppose that they did really hold what was objected, then they were not of the antipædobaptist opinion, (as Danvers, by altering the words something the other way, would represent[s],) but of the humour of the Quakers, to slight all water-baptism.

The Hussites also in Bohemia had the same hopeful opinion, viz. that infants dying unbaptized may be saved by the mercy of God, accepting their parents' faithful desire of baptizing them for the deed: as appears by their history, both in Foxe[t] and the writers from whom he copies. And this was objected to them as an error by the papists there, as it was to the Lollards here. Indeed they were disciples of our Wickliffe as well as the Lollards. For John Huss, the first reformer there, imbibed the sense of religion which he had from Wickliffe's books: and took this principle among the rest.

Nay, even in the church of Rome some doctors have shewn a great inclination to this opinion, and have expressed it as far as they durst. Cassander quotes Gerson, Biel, Cajetan, and some others, as expressing some hopes in this case, and encouraging the parents of such children to pray for them. But

[s] Treatise, part ii. ch. 7. [page 304.] [t] At the year 1415.

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I doubt that Gerson and Biel do mean only such infants as die in the womb; which amounts to no more than what the old schoolmen had said, as I shewed. Yet Gerson's words are ambiguous: I will
1315 set them down. He had been observing[a] that God does not always tack his mercy to the sacraments: and thereupon advises 'women great with child, 'and their husbands, to use their prayers for their 'infant that is not yet born, that (if it be to die be- 'fore it can come to the grace of baptism with water) 'the Lord Jesus would vouchsafe to sanctify it 'beforehand with the baptism of his holy Spirit. 'For who knows but that God may perhaps hear 'them? Nay, who would not devoutly hope, that 'he will not despise the prayer of his humble ser- 'vants that trust in him? This consideration is 'useful to raise devotion in the parents, and to ease 'their trouble of mind, if the child die without 'baptism: forasmuch as all hope is not taken away. 'But yet there is, I confess, no certainty without a 'revelation.'

This is part of a sermon preached before the council of Constance, where Huss was condemned and martyred. And one error whereof Huss was accused was, that he held the salvation of infants, that by mischance die unbaptized. Therefore if Gerson mean this of children born alive, it shews that he was of another temper than the rest of that bloody popish council.

1425 Cardinal Cajetan was another of the better sort of papists: and he[z] ventures to say of children that

[a] Serm. de Nativitate Mariæ Virginis, Consid. 1. [Op. tom. iii. p. 1350, edit. 1706.]

[z] In tertiam partem Thomæ, Quæst. 68. Art. 1. et 2.

die after they are born, and yet before they can be baptised, that 'it is not unreasonable to say, that 'baptism in the desire of the parents is in such case 'of necessity sufficient for their salvation:' but says, he speaks 'under correction.' And he has been corrected. For some doctors have called him a heretic[y] for this: others, that are not so severe, yet say it is an erroneous and rash opinion to think this to be possible. Indeed the council of Florence had determined, that 'the souls of all that die in 'actual mortal sin, or even in original sin alone, do 'go *ad infernum*, to hell.' I suppose they mean that infants go to that part of hell which they call *limbus puerorum*, where there are no torments.

CHAP. VI. Year after the apostles. 1339.

But above all, Cassander himself has shewn a very compassionate temper, in the pains he has taken to encourage parents to some hopes, and to earnest prayers for their child so dying[z]. But withal a very modest one, when he adds these words; 'This opinion of mine concerning infants, 'I will not defend with contention or obstinacy: 'nor rashly condemn those, who being persuaded 'by the authority of the ancients, and of almost 'the whole church, do allow salvation to those in- 'fants only, to whom God, in his secret but just 'judgment, does vouchsafe the sacrament of rege- 'neration and baptism.' 1470.

VIII. Upon the reformation, the protestants generally have defined that the due punishment of original sin is, in strictness, damnation in hell. I suppose and hope that they mean with St. Austin,

[y] Vasquez in tertiam partem Thomæ, tom. 2. Disp. 141. cap. 3.

[z] De Baptismo Infantium. [Op. p. 778. edit. Paris. 1616.]

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a very moderate degree of it in the case of infants, in whom original corruption, which is the *fomes* or source of all wickedness, has not broke out into any actual sin.

But if their doctrine has in this respect been more rigid than that of the church of Rome, or of the ancient Greek doctors; they have in another respect, viz. in the case of Christian people's children, given such a mitigating explication of our Saviour's words, as to allow better hopes than either of them. For they do generally incline to think, that if a child by misfortune die before it can have baptism, the parents' sincere intention of giving it, and their prayers, will be accepted with God for the deed; and will be available to procure of God's mercy pardon of original sin, and even an entrance into the kingdom. Whereas the schoolmen and Fathers have thought that Christ at the day of judgment will proceed by that sentence, John iii. 3, 5, (such an one *cannot enter into the kingdom of God.*) in the manner that a judge in a court of common law proceeds upon the words of a statute, having no power to make allowance for circumstances: the protestants do hope that he will act in the manner that a judge of a court of equity does, who has power to mitigate the letter of the law in cases where reason would have it. The Fathers themselves thought this allowance would be made in the case of a grown man, who had a personal desire of baptism: and that if it was an invincible necessity that kept him from water, he might *enter the kingdom* without being *born of water*. The protestants think the same in the case of the desire of the parent for his infant. They

think thus; the main thing in God's intention in this case is, that a parent, as he dedicates himself to God, so he should likewise dedicate his child, and get him entered into that covenant made in Christ, without which there is no hope of heaven: and that he should accordingly make use of that symbol or outward sign which God has appointed to be the way of admission into that covenant, if he can possible: and that his refusal to do the latter will be looked on as a refusal of the covenant itself. But that if, notwithstanding his sincere desire and endeavour of obtaining the outward symbol, he be by some accident disappointed of it; God will yet grant the same favour that he had promised upon the use of it: because it is the heart that God regards; and where that is ready, outward things are accepted *according to what a man hath, and not according to what he hath not:* especially if some act of God himself, as the sudden death of the infant, &c., do render it impossible for him to have them. CHAP. VI. Year after the apostles.

Luther and his followers do indeed speak more doubtfully of this: and do lay so much stress on actual baptism, as that they allow a layman to do the office in times of necessity, rather than that the infant should die without it.

But Calvin, and those that follow him, (who to the great prejudice of religion made a needless schism from the others, or else the others from them, I know not which,) sunk the doctrine of the necessity of baptism a pitch lower. They own[a] that

[a] Calvini Antidotum ad acta Synodi Tridentinæ, sess. 7. Canon. 5. item Antidotum ad Articulos Parisienses, Art. 1. item Institut. lib. iv. cap. 15. §. 22. [The first of these pieces was

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baptism is necessary not only *necessitate præcepti*, by God's command, but also thus far, *necessitate medii*, that it is God's ordinary means to regenerate and give salvation. But they determine it as a thing certain, that the child of a godly believing parent shall obtain the kingdom of heaven, though he do by sudden death, &c., miss of baptism: 'provided 'this happen by no negligence or contumacy of the 'parent.' And they deny that there is or can be any such necessity as to justify a layman's giving it. And Calvin takes an occasion to jeer some papists[b] that had said that 'if a child be like to die, and no 'water to be had but what is in the bottom of a 'deep well, and nothing to draw with: the best 'way is to throw the child down into the well, that 'it may be washed before it be dead.'

The church of England have declared their sense of the necessity, by reciting that saying of our Saviour, John iii. 5, both in the office of baptism of infants, and also in that for those of riper years. And in the latter they add these words; 'Beloved, 'ye hear in this Gospel the express words of our 'Saviour Christ, that, *Except a man be born of 'water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the 'kingdom of God.* Whereby ye may perceive the

printed in 12mo, in the year 1547: and the second in 1542: (both editions are excessively rare:) they are found in the seventh volume of the large collection of his works, *Genevæ*, 1617, &c., and in vol. viii. of that published at Antwerp in 1671.]

[b] [The words of the Theological Faculty of Paris are, 'Venti-'latur ardua quæstio inter Doctores, utrum infans in periculo 'mortis, si non adsit aqua, debeat potius projici in puteum quam 'commendari Deo cum expectatione eventus. Hoc autem esset 'homicidium dignum morte, *nisi* diceretur quod baptisma sit de 'necessitate salutis.']

'great necessity of this sacrament, where it may 'be had.' And Archbishop Laud, shewing that infant-baptism is proved from Scripture, and not from the tradition of the church only, (against the Jesuit, his adversary, who, to cast in a bone of contention, had asserted the latter,) gives his sense of it thus[c]; 'That baptism is necessary to the salva- 'tion of infants (in the ordinary way of the church, 'without binding God to the use and means of that 'sacrament, to which he hath bound us) is express 'in St. John iii. *Except*, &c.' CHAP. VI. Year after the apostles.

Concerning the everlasting state of an infant that by misfortune dies unbaptized, the church of England has determined nothing, (it were fit that all churches would leave such things to God,) save that they forbid the ordinary office for burial to be used for such an one: for that were to determine the point, and acknowledge him for a Christian brother. And though the most noted men in the said church from time to time, since the reformation of it to this time, have expressed their hopes that God will accept the purpose of the parent for the deed; yet they have done it modestly, and much as Wickliffe did, rather not determining the negative, than absolutely determining the positive, that such a child shall enter into the kingdom of heaven. Archbishop Laud's words, we see, are; 'We are not to bind 'God, though he hath bound us.' And archbishop Whitgift, disputing with Cartwright, says, 'I do 'mislike as much as you the opinion of those that 'think infants to be condemned which are not

[c] Relation of the Conference between Archbishop Laud and Mr. Fisher, §. xv. num. 4.

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'baptized[d].' All this is modest. But there are indeed some, that do make a pish at any one that is not confident, or does speak with any reserve about that matter; and they despise him and his scruples as much, and with as much success, as Vincentius the talkative did those of St. Austin on the same point [e].

For the opinion of the English presbyterians, I shall content myself with citing these words of Mr. Baxter; 'I have hereby been made thankful 'that God has kept me from the snare of anabap-'tistry. For though I lay not so much as some 'do on the mere outward act or water of baptism, 'believing that our heart-consent and dedication 'qualifieth infants for a covenant-right before actual 'baptism, (which yet is Christ's regular solemniza-'tion and investiture,) yet I make a great matter 'of the main controversy: notwithstanding that I 'hereticate not the anabaptists for the bare opinion's 'sake, nor would have them persecuted[f],' &c.

The antipædobaptists, as they allow no advantage to an infant by its baptism, nor yet by its being the child of a godly and religious parent; so they do not all agree about the state of infants dying before actual sin. One sort of them determine with great assurance, that all infants, of heathens as well as Christians, of the wicked as well as of the godly, shall be saved, and shall enter into the

[d] Defence of the Answer to the Admonition, tract 9. chap. 5. Divis. 2. [p. 516. edit. Lond. 1574.]

[e] See part i. ch. 20.

[f] Reply to Hutchinson, p. 39. [i. e. Baxter's Review of the state of Christians' Infants, &c. 8vo. London, 1676.]

kingdom of God. And they dissuade men from having their children baptized, or *born again of water*, &c., seeing by this determination they are secure of heaven without it. To which the other commonly answer, that they desire such a safety for their children, as has some ground in God's word, and not in their determination only: since an infant has no promise, right, or expectation of the kingdom of heaven, merely as it is a human creature, or born of human race; but only as being entered and interested in the covenant of Christ, by which is promised an eternal life after this; and the said covenant does require, as a condition of all that are to enter into the kingdom, that they *be born again of water*, &c. CHAP. VI. Year after the apostles.

Another sort of antipædobaptists have not this assurance concerning all infants, but do suppose a different state of them on account of the decrees of election and reprobation.

IX. Concerning the state of a baptized infant dying before actual sin, the whole Christian world has agreed that it is undoubtedly saved, and will be admitted to the joys of heaven: since it has all that the church of Christ can give it. St. Austin says, as I shewed before [g], 'He that does not be-'lieve this is an infidel.' And, 'God forbid that 'we should doubt of it.' It is certain, there was never any doubt made of it till the times of the late managers of the doctrine of prædestination. Some of these have added several limitations and provisoes to this proposition, relating to the election or sanctification of the parents, or their right to church membership: and some of them have used such

[g] Part i. ch. 15. sect. 5. §. 6.

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expressions, as that they seem to think that even among the infants of faithful parents, some are so reprobated by the eternal decree of God, that though they be baptized, and die in infancy, yet they will be damned. Some sayings of Paræus, Perkins, Zanchius, &c., are by their adversaries produced to this purpose[h]. And it is known what exceptions[i] some have taken at the rubric of the last edition of the English liturgy at the end of the office of baptism; that 'it is certain by God's word that children which are baptized, dying before they commit 'actual sin, are undoubtedly saved.'

What enemies soever that assertion may have now, it had none in those times of which I am writing. The maintainers of prædestination in those days spoke thus of the case of an infant dying before actual sin; that if he was baptized before he died, it was thence manifest that he had been elected: if not, it appeared that he was not elected. Or thus; that those infants which were prædestinated to salvation, came by God's providence to obtain baptism: but the others missed of it.

This is plain in the discourses of St. Austin, Prosper, Fulgentius, &c. 'There are,' says St. Austin[k], 'two infants born: if you ask what merit

[h] See Acta et Scripta Synodalia Dordracena Ministrorum Remonstrantium, &c. in scriptis dogmaticis, p. 45, 46.

[i] [See 'an Account of all the proceedings of the Commissioners of both persuasions appointed by His Sacred Majesty, for the review of the Book of Common Prayer,' &c. 4to. London, 1661. Particularly p. 25, (signature E) or p. 27. (sign. E 2.) of another edition of the same date: also p. 118, of 'the Papers 'that passed between the Commissioners,' &c. *ibid.*]

[k] Serm. de verbis Apost. xi. [Sermo xxvi. cap. 12. sect. 13. in edit. Benedict. Op. tom. v. p. 141.]

'they have; they both are of the lump of perdition. CHAP. VI.
'But how comes it that the mother of the one brings Year after the apostles.
'him to the grace (viz. of baptism); the mother of
'the other in her sleep overlies it? You will ask
'me, What merit had one, that he should be
'brought to the grace? What merit had the other,
'that was overlaid by his sleeping mother? Neither
'of them deserved any good. But *the potter has*
'power over his clay, of the same lump to make one
'vessel to honour, another to dishonour.'

And he puts a harder case yet. The Pelagians, who held that the grace of God is given according to men's merits, were urged by St. Austin to tell what foregoing merit one infant that was baptized and then died, could have above another that died without the grace of baptism. 'If you should say,' says he[1], 'that he merited this by the piety of his 'parents: you will be answered; Why then do the 'children of godly parents sometimes miss of this 'benefit, and the children of wicked parents obtain 'it? Sometimes a child born of religious parents 'is taken away as soon as it is born, before it be 'washed with the laver of regeneration: and an 'infant born of the enemies of Christ is, by the 'compassion of some Christian, baptized in Christ. 'A baptized and chaste mother bewails her own 'son dying unbaptized; and yet, finding another 'child left in the street by some strumpet, takes it 'up and procures it to be baptized. Here for cer-'tain the merits of the parents can have no place,' &c. He goes on to shew by several other reasons

[1] Lib. ii. contra duas Epistolas Pelagianorum, cap. 6. [Op. tom. x.]

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or instances, that it was impossible to assign any other ground of difference, except the free purpose of God, 'Why some infants being baptized should 'obtain, and others dying unbaptized should miss 'of, so excellent a benefit of being made the sons 'of God, without any merit of their parents, or of 'their own.'

340. So Prosper (or be it Hilarius, or pope Leo, that was the author of the book) *de Vocatione Gentium*, lib. i. c. 7. challenges those who attributed the difference that God makes in calling one nation or one person to the means of salvation, and not another, to the different use that they had made of freewill, to give any tolerable account of the case of infants; 'why some being regenerated, are saved; others 'not being regenerated, do perish.'——'For I sup-'pose,' says he, 'that these patrons of freewill will 'not be so shameless, as either to say that this dif-'ference happens by chance; or to deny, that those 'that are not regenerated do perish.'

And those who were at that time (from the year 320. 400. 420 to 500) the opposite party in the church, to those that held this absolute election and reprobation, and were called by the others semipelagians, as in reference to the adult they maintained that God had elected those who he foresaw would be faithful; so for infants that die in infancy, they said; that those of them which God foresaw would have been godly if they had lived, those he in his Providence took care should be baptized: and those that would have been wicked if they had lived, he by some providence causes to miss of baptism. So that both these contrary parties agreed in this;

that of infants so dying, all the baptized ones were saved: and (as the opinion then was) all the unbaptized missed of it. CHAP. VI. Year after the apostles.

Of the modern prædestinarians or Calvinists, if some have been so rigid as to think that some baptized infants dying in infancy do perish; yet they are not all of that opinion. Vossius allows it to be an infallible rule which is expressed in the rubric aforesaid. 'It is,' says he [m], 'not the judgment of 'charity only, but of charity that cannot be mis-'taken, that we account baptized infants go to 'heaven, as many of them as die before the use of 'reason, and before they have defiled themselves 'with actual sins.'

X. From the last quoted place of St. Austin, one may observe, that the ancients did not, in the baptizing of children, go by that rule which some presbyterians would establish, viz. that none are to be baptized but the children of parents actually godly and religious. For he speaks of the case of a strumpet's child, or a child 'born of the enemies of 'Christ,' viz. of heathens, found in the streets and baptized, as a common instance. And in his epistle to Auxilius [n], a young bishop that had rashly excommunicated a whole family for the parents' crimes, he desires him to shew a reason if he can, how a son, a wife, a slave, can justly be excommunicated for the fault of the father, husband, master. And then adds; 'Or any one in that family that is 'not yet born, but may be born during the excom-'munication: so that he cannot, if in danger of 'death, be relieved by the laver of regeneration?'

[m] De Baptismo, Disput. iv. Thes. iv.

[n] Epist. 75. [Ep. 250. sect. 2. in edit. Benedict.]

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Bishop Stillingfleet has fully shewn[o] the absurdity and inconsistency of this opinion of such presbyterians; and how they can never in many cases that may be put, come to a resolution or agreement what children may be baptized, and what not: and has cleared the grounds of baptism from such scruples. And as for the text, 1 Cor. vii. 14, on which they build those scruples, I have shewn[p] that the ancients do understand it in a sense much more plain and natural, and more agreeable to the scope of St. Paul's arguing there, which gives no foundation for any such scruple. And we see by the instances here brought, and many other, that they willingly baptized any infants, if the parents, or any other that were owners or possessors of such infants, shewed so much faith in Christ as to desire baptism for them.

CHAP. VII.

An account of the state of this practice from the year 400 till the rise of the German antipædobaptists. Of the Waldenses, and their chief accusers, St. Bernard, Petrus Cluniacensis, Reinerius, Pilichdorf, &c. The Confessions of the Waldenses themselves.

I. I GAVE before[q] a note of reference to the books of some authors that lived after the year 400, for the use of those that would trace this practice for one century further. The general account of them is, that they speak of infant-baptism as a thing uncontroverted. And so it holds for all the following times till after the year 1000. The antipædo-

[o] Unreasonableness of Separation, part iii. sect. 36.

[p] Part i. ch. 19. §. 19. item, ch. 11. §. 11. [q] Part i. ch. 22.

baptists who do put in their plea for the first 300 or 400 years, yet do (so many of them I mean as have any tolerable degree of learning and ingenuity) confess, that in all these following ages the baptizing of infants did prevail. Mr. Tombes says [r]. 'The authority of Augustine was it which carried 'the baptism of infants in the following ages, almost 'without control.' And though it appear plainly by St. Austin's writings, which I have largely produced, that there was no Christian in the world that he knew or heard of, that denied it, (except those that denied all baptism,) so that he need not say, 'St. Augustine's authority carried it:' yet it is however a confession of the matter of fact for the after-times.

Only whereas he puts in the word 'almost;' as if some, though few, did oppose it: there is, on the contrary, not one saying, quotation, or example, that makes against it, produced or pretended, but what has been clearly shewn to be a mistake. As in the first 400 years there is none but one, Tertullian, who advised it to be deferred till the age of reason; and one, Nazianzen, till three years of age, in case of no danger of death: so in the following 600 there is no account or report of any one man that opposed it at all.

Some places of authors have been cited indeed: but there wants nothing but looking into the books themselves to see that they are nothing to the purpose. So Mr. Danvers created to Mr. Wills and Mr. Baxter a great deal of trouble, in sending them from one book to another to discover his mistakes and misrepresentations of several authors within

[r] Examen. part i. §. 8. p. 12.

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this space: but withal a great deal of discredit to himself; for there is not one of his quotations, that seemed material enough to need searching, but proved to be such. Mr. Wills had at first yielded him two authors as being on his side: but Mr. Baxter coming after, (and Mr. Wills himself upon a second review,) rectified that erroneous concession; as was easy to do by consulting the original authors; for it was taking the scraps and breviates of things out of the Magdeburgensian epitomizers, which occasioned that there was any possibility of mistake.

760. One of the two I spoke of was Hincmarus, bishop of Laudun, whom I had occasion to mention in the last chapter[s] on another account. He had upon a quarrel[t] excommunicated all the clergy of his diocese, so that there was for a time none to baptize, bury, absolve, &c. Some children died by that means without baptism: complaint was made to his metropolitan: he reproves him, shews him the pernicious consequences, hopes that the children that died, and others that died without absolution, the communion, &c., may by God's mercy be saved; (I quoted his words for that before,) but adds, 'But 'as for you, you cannot be secure, if any by your 'order have died without the said sacraments, that 'you shall not be severely judged, (though the 'mercy of Almighty God make it up in them,) 'unless your true humility do procure your par-'don,' &c. The stubborn bishop would not obey; but recriminated: he sent word to the archbishop[u],

[s] [See above, p. 211.]

[t] Hincmari Rhemensis Opuscul. 55. capitum, cap. 28. &c. ad 48.

[u] Ibid. Præfatio.

saying, 'You gave me an example: I have a village 'in your diocese,' &c. 'and you excommunicated 'them: and I have an account of how many infants 'died without baptism, and men without the com-'munion,' &c. The archbishop denied this; the matter is brought before the synod held in Attiniacum[x]. They condemn the bishop of Laudun. CHAP. VII. Year after the apostles. 770.

Now see what Mr. Danvers makes of this, (which I set down as a specimen: not that I mean to trouble the reader with tracing him any further, whatever I have done myself,) he relates it thus[y]:

'Hincmarus, bishop of Laudun in France in the 'ninth century, renounced children's baptism, and 'refused any more to baptize any of them, so that 'they grew up without baptism, yea, many died 'without it,' &c.——'For which he and his diocese 'was accused in the synod of Accinicus in France, 'in these words; "Ne missas celebrarent, aut in-'fantes baptizarent, aut pœnitentes absolverent, aut 'mortuos sepelirent;"' (which he translates, contrary to the idiom of Latin phrase, and to the tenour of the history, 'that they neither celebrated 'mass, baptized children, absolved the penitents, or 'buried the dead.' Whereas the accusation was not against the diocese, but against the bishop only, that he had excommunicated them and interdicted his clergy, 'ne missas celebrarent,' &c. 'that they should

[x] [Attiniacum, now *Attigny*, is a small town of France, in the province of Champagne, seated on the river Aisne. At present it is the head of a canton. It is a place of considerable antiquity, and memorable as the seat of several important synods and councils, and the residence of several of the early kings of France.]

[y] Treatise, part ii. cap. 7. p. 233. edit. 1674.

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'not [or could not] say mass, baptize children, absolve penitents, or bury the dead.' And he quotes for this, '*Bibl. Patrum*, tom. ix. part ii. p. 137; '*Magd. Cent.* ix. c. 4. p. 40, 41, 43; Dutch Martyrology, p. 244, part i.'

Now for Dutch Martyrology I will by no means answer. But this I will undertake, that whoever looks into *Hincmarus' Opusculum*, which is recited in *Bibl. Patrum*, tom. ix. part. ii. p. 93, &c. [p. 137 seems to be a mistake of the printer,] ed. Colon. 1618; or into *Magd. Cent.* ix. c. 9. p. 443, [which is the place that must be meant, though his print be c. 4. p. 40, 41, 43,] edit. Basil. 1547, [p. 443. tit. *Synodus apud Acciniacum*, edit. Basil. 1565.] will find the account of the matter as I have told it, and no other.

Now at such a rate of quoting, reciting, translating, and altering, he may find antipædobaptists in every age, and at any place. It is abundance of the quotations that he has brought, which I as well as Mr. Baxter and Mr. Wills have searched, and never found any, not so much as one, (of those I mean which are for the centuries aforesaid from 400 to 1000, and seemed to be any thing material,) but what had some such mistake as this, or a worse, in the applying of them. But I shall not go on to recite them, especially since the foresaid writers have done it already[z]. One would wonder what he meant to make of this Hincmarus: if we can conceive that he thought his opinion to be against baptizing children, did he think that he judged burying the dead unlawful too?

[z] Baxter, More Proofs, &c. Wills, Infant-baptism asserted; item, Infant-baptism reasserted.

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II. But about the year of Christ 1050, there are quotations that have better foundation, and a greater appearance of truth, and do at least deserve an examination; concerning Bruno, bishop of Angers, and Berengarius, archdeacon of the same church; and about a hundred years after, some concerning the Waldenses of yet greater credit.

Bruno and Berengarius seemed to have aimed at a reformation of some corrupt doctrines then in the church of Rome. They had an opportunity more advantageous than ordinary, one being bishop, and the other archdeacon of the same place. They are said to have begun their attempt about 1035, when 935.
Berengarius was but a young man, for he lived fifty years after that time. They opposed transubstantiation, for which they had a great many mouths open, and many pieces wrote against them. Among which many, there is one (not written by one of the same nation, but a foreigner, who owns that he speaks by hearsay) that charges them with some error that did overthrow infant-baptism. It is a letter written by (Durandus, bishop of Liege, as 950.
Baronius and the editors of the *Bibl. Patrum* had supposed; but as bishop Ussher[a] and F. Mabillon[b] have fully proved, by) Deodwinus, bishop of Liege, to Henry I. king of France. The words are[c]:

'There is a report come out of France, and 'which goes through all Germany, that these two

[a] De Success. Eccl. p. 196. [cap. 7. sect. 24. p. 99. edit. fol. 1687.]

[b] Analect. tom. iv. p. 396. [Edit. 8vo. Lut. Paris. 1685: p. 446. edit. fol. Par. 1723.]

[c] Bibl. Patr. tom. xi. edit. Colon. 1618. Durandi Epist. [p. 432.]

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Year after the epocha.

'do maintain that the Lord's body [the host] is not 'the body, but a shadow and figure of the Lord's 'body. And that they do disannul lawful mar- 'riages: and as far as in them lies, overthrow the 'baptism of infants.'

Of Bruno we hear no more: probably he died.

But of Berengarius, the report that Deodwinus had heard was so far certainly true, as that he did deny the real presence in the sacrament, in that proper and corporal meaning, in which a great many then began to understand it. And there are a little after this a great many tracts written, and a 955 great many councils[d] held against him and others 963 of his opinion, for that supposed error. But none of those tracts, nor any of those councils, do object any error held by him in reference to matrimony or infant-baptism. And since he is found three or four several times to have been received to communion by his adversaries upon his recantation of that his opinion of the eucharist, without mention of any other: it is probable, and almost certain, that the report which Deodwinus had heard of his holding those other opinions was a mistake: or else that (as bishop Usher[e] guesses) he had denied that baptism *does confer grace ex opere operato*: which was enough at that time to make his adversaries say, he did overthrow baptism. And that is Deodwins' word: he does not say, they denied it: but his words are, 'Quantum in ipsis est, parvulorum

[d] Concil. Turonense. Anno 1055. [edit. Mansi. tom. xix. p. 830.] Romanum 1063. [or 1059. see Concilia, edit. Mansi. tom. xix. p. 897.]

[e] De Success. Eccles. cap. 7. sect. 31. p. 105 edit. fol. Lond. 1687.]

'baptismum evertunt.' 'They, as far as in them CHAP. VII.
'lies, overthrow the baptism of infants.'

Guitmund indeed, who is one of those many that Year after the apostles. 975.
I said wrote against Berengarius toward the latter end of his life about his opinion of the other sacrament, does take notice of Deodwin's letter, and of the report therein mentioned of his holding those other opinions: but he speaks of them as of tenets which Berengarius, if he ever held them, never did think fit to own or publish: for his words[f] are, that 'Berengarius finding that those two opinions '[of marriage and baptism] would not be endured 'by the ears even of the worst men that were: and 'that there was no pretence in Scripture to be 'brought for them: betook himself wholly to up-'hold the other, [viz. that against transubstantia-'tion,] in which he seemed to have the testimony 'of our senses on his side, and against which none 'of the holy Fathers had so fully spoken, and for 'which he picked up some reasons and some places 'of Scripture misunderstood,' &c.

This is what he says as by report from Deod- 970.
win's letter. And for his other adversaries[g], Lan- 950.
franc, Adelman[h], Algerus[i], and others, they do 1030.
not at all, as I can find, mention any thing about baptism.

One thing I do here note by the by: that both

[f] De Veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Christi, lib. i. [apud Biblioth. Patrum, tom. xi. p. 350, &c. edit. Colon. 1618.]

[g] De Eucharistiæ Sacramento. [Apud Bibl. Patr. tom. xi. p. 337.]

[h] Epistola ad Berengarium de Veritate, &c. [Bibl. Patr. xi. p. 348, &c.]

[i] De Sacramento Corporis et Sanguinis [Dominici, apud Bibl. Patr. xii. 410.]

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this Guitmund, and the others mentioned, do so maintain the doctrine of transubstantiation against Berengarius, as that they say nothing of worshipping the host, nor any thing from whence one may gather that it was then practised in the church of Rome itself. I believe they then held transubstantiation, as the Lutherans do now consubstantiation, so as not to worship the host as the papists do now.

Now for the next age after this; the author of the acts of Bruno archbishop of Triers cited by bishop Ussher[k] says, that the said Bruno taking on him to expel those that were of the Berengarian sect out of his diocese, there were some found among them, who upon examination confessed their opinion to be, that 'baptism does no good to infants for 'their salvation.' And the said author tells it upon his credit, that he was present at their confession, and heard them say so.

III. But it is probable that these were a sort of people that have been since called Waldenses. For 1050 it must be observed, that in this age, viz. the twelfth century, several societies of men began to make a figure in the world, who differing from one another in some other matters, all agreed in renouncing the pope and see of Rome, and denying transubstantiation, and the worship of images, and some other grosser corruptions lately brought into that church. These were at first in several places called by several names and nicknames, but have been since by our English writers denoted by the general name of Waldenses. And one of the nicknames in use at

[k] De Success. Eccles. c. 7 p. 207. [p. 105. edit. 1687.]

this time, was to call them *Berengarians*. Now whether those in Bruno's diocese, that were so called, did mean by that saying of theirs, that baptism itself is a thing of no use, to infants or any one else; or whether they put the emphasis on the word *infants*, does not appear: and there were about this time some sects that would say the one, and some that would be apt to say the other; as I shall shew. CHAP. VII. Year after the apostles.

Beside the name of Berengarians, other names that were severally used at several places and times, were these; Cathari [or Puritans], Paterines, Petrobrusians, Lyonists, Albigenses, Waldenses, and several more. And these, though differing many of them very much from one another, have been of late confusedly and by one general name called *Waldenses*. But the more exact accounts, and particularly Mr. Limborch's[1] history of the inquisition, do distinguish the Waldenses from the Albigenses, both as to their tenets and their places of abode. And it is, I think, only among the latter, that any antipædobaptists were found. As France was the first country in Christendom where dipping of children in baptism was left off; so there first antipædobaptism began.

But of these Waldenses so taken in a lump, the pædobaptist and antipædobaptist writers do at this time hotly dispute whether they held for or against infant-baptism.

The antipædobaptists produce the evidence of the popish writers of that time, who wrote against

[1] [Philippi a Limborch Historia Inquisitionis, fol. Amst. 1692. lib. i. cap. 8. p. 30. In English, by Sam. Chandler, 2 vols. 4to. 1731. The same work abridged, 1 vol. 8vo. London, 1816.]

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them: some of which do plainly and fully charge some of them with denying it.

The protestant pædobaptists say, this was one slander of many with which those their adversaries endeavoured to blacken them, because they condemned the errors and corruptions of the church of Rome: and produce for evidence several confessions of the Waldenses themselves, wherein they own infant-baptism. Now such confessions were doubtless more to be relied on than the accusations of their adversaries, if they were as ancient as they.

The present Waldenses, or Vaudois in Piedmont, who are the posterity of those old, do practise infant-baptism: and they were also found in the practice of it, when the protestants of Luther's reformation sent to know their state and doctrine, and to
1530. confer with them: and they themselves do say, that their fathers never practised otherwise. And they give proof of it from an old book of theirs, called the Spiritual Almanack[m], where infant-baptism is owned: and Perrin, their historian, gives the reason

[m] Perrin, Hist. of Waldenses, lib. i. c. 4. [See Histoire des Vaudois, par J. P. Perrin. 12mo. A Geneve, 1619. Also Luther's Fore-runners, or a cloud of witnesses deposing for the Protestant faith, gathered together in the history of the Waldenses, &c. collected by J. P. P. L. [Jean Paul Perrin, Lionois] translated out of French, by Samson Lennard, 4to. London, 1624.—Lennard also translated and published at the same time, Perrin's 'Histoire des Christiens Albigeois;' which had appeared by itself at Geneva, 12mo. 1618, but in fact is only the second part of the joint work, embracing a history of both these people, together with such points of discipline and doctrine, as were common to the two. Some confusion arises from the mode of publication: parts two and three having appeared together, in 1618, paged consecutively, 1—156: 157—333, and part 1, dated 1619, paged 1—248.]

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of the report that had been to the contrary, viz. that their ancestors 'being constrained for some 'hundred years to suffer their children to be bap- 'tized by the priests of the church of Rome, they 'deferred the doing thereof as long as they could, 'because they had in detestation those human inven- 'tions that were added to the sacrament, which they 'held to be the pollution thereof. And forasmuch 'as their own pastors were many times abroad, 'employed in the service of their churches, they 'could not have baptism administered to their in- 'fants by their own ministers. For this cause they 'kept them long from baptism: which the priests 'perceiving, and taking notice of, charged them 'with this slander.' There are many other confes- sions of theirs of like import, produced by Perrin, Baxter, Wills, &c. This is the account the Wal- denses give of themselves in those confessions, some of which seem to have been published about two hundred years ago. One, of the Bohemian Wal- denses, is dated 1508 [n]. 1508.

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But the antipædobaptists (some of them) say, this was by a corrupt compliance: for that 'about this 'time they made a great defection from their for- 'mer principles and integrities, and have too much 'gendered since into the formalities of the Hugo- 'nots.' As if they had done it in compliance with Luther, who did not begin till 1517. 1517.

Yet they can produce no other or elder confession of theirs, that speaks contrary to these. There are extant several of their elder confessions, which ex-

[n] [Another, presented by them to the king of Bohemia, in the year 1533, is given at length in Leger's Histoire, &c. part i. p. 96.]

CHAP. VIII.

Four other confessions.

pause particularly the points in which they protested against what they held to be corrupt in the Romish doctrine and way, as against transubstantiation, chrism, extreme unction, &c., but do mention nothing, one way or other, about infant-baptism: which is a sign that that was none of the things they disowned. They do in several of their old books, copied in Perrin's history of them, speak of baptism and the other sacrament (for they owned but two). And in them they oppose themselves against the popish doctrine of the sacraments: and particularly they blame the papists for relying too much on the outward or visible part of them (as the protestants do now to the same purpose blame that tenet of theirs; that 'sacraments do confer 'grace *ex opere operato*, by the outward work 'done'). And there is one of them also that does mention the baptizing of children, but so as to leave the main question still ambiguous. It is their Treatise concerning Antichrist: written, as is pre-
1020. tended, anno 1120.[o] But I do not believe that; not having found any other account of this people so early. In it they say (as Perrin recites it at the end of his history[p]:) 'He [Antichrist] attributes the 'reformation of the Holy Spirit to a dead, outward 'faith, and baptizes children into that faith, that 'thereby baptism and regeneration must be had, 'and gives and receives orders, and other sacra-'ments by that, grounding therein all his Chris-

[o] [See 'Histoire générale des Eglises évangéliques des Vallées de Piemont, ou Vaudoises: par Jean Leger,' folio, à Leyde, 1669. Livr. i. ch. 4. p. 26.]

[p] [Page 267. French edition, 1618. p 75, English edit. 1624.]

'tianity, which is against the Holy Spirit.' One party say, they do hereby condemn all baptizing of children, as a dead, outward work. The other say, they ought by these words to be understood to own baptizing of children; and to except only against the foresaid popish tenet: for, whether it be in children or grown persons, it is an antichristian or popish abuse to ascribe the regeneration to the dead outward work, or mere outward act; which ought especially to be ascribed to the grace or mercy of God, sealing and confirming the covenant to them. Perrin himself, who produces it, understands it so. And there is a Catechism of theirs, which Perrin says [q], is composed out of their old books, that does expressly mention and own infant-baptism. But of what date that Catechism is, I know not. CHAP. VII. Year after the apostles.

Bishop Ussher [r] quotes out of Hoveden's Annals in Henry II. fol. 319. edit. London, a confession of faith made by the *Boni homines* of Tholouse, (this was one name given to one of those sorts of men that have been since called *Waldenses*,) who being summoned and examined before a meeting of bishops, abbots, &c., repeated it before the assembly; but being urged to swear to it, refused. In the body of which confession they say; 'Credimus etiam quod 'non salvatur quis, nisi qui baptizantur: et parvulos 'salvari per baptisma.' 'We believe also that no 'person is saved, but what is baptized: and that in-'fants are saved by baptism.' Mr. Baxter having 1070.

[q] Part iii. lib. 1. ch. 6. [p. 213. French edit. 1618; p. 43. English edit. 1624.]

[r] De Success. Eccles. cap. viii. p. 242. [§. 34. p. 122. edit. 1687.]

CHAP. VII.

Year after the question 1176.

been called upon by Danvers to produce any confession of theirs of any ancient date that owned infant-baptism, produces this[s], which was about the year 1176, and says, 'Would you have a fuller proof?' But the other answers[t], that this confession was not what they naturally and usually held: but what the court forced them to say by way of recantation: which proves rather, that they usually held the contrary, or were suspected so to do. This latter appears by the story to be the truth of the matter: and it is wonder Mr. Baxter would urge it. But however it signifies nothing to the purpose. For these men were Manichees, (as appears by the other opinions the court made them recant, viz. that there were 'two Gods, whereof the evil God made 'the visible world,' &c.) and consequently the opinions they held against baptism, were against all baptism of old or young, that it is good for nothing: and so when they denied 'that infants are saved by 'baptism:' their meaning was, that no person is ever the more saved for being baptized. This they then recanted. And this is a known tenet of the Manichees[u]: of whom there were many in these parts, whose story is confounded with that of the other Waldenses, as I shall shew by and by.

It is to be noted, that they that write against them do accuse them of abundance of heresies and monstrous doctrines: and that with great variety[x].

[s] More Proofs, p. 380. [t] Second Reply, [ch. ii. §. 5. p. 84.]

[u] See ch. v. §. 3.

[x] [See a collection of these, edited by the Jesuit Gretser, 4°. *Ingolstadt*, 1614, and reprinted in the 'Bibliotheca Patrum,' tom. xiii. p. 228—344. edit. Colon. 1618.]

One writer of one time and place accuses those that he writes against (whom he calls by such or such a name, as Puritans, Apostolics, &c.) of one set of false doctrines; and another writer, of another time and country, lays to the charge of those that he writes against, whom he names perhaps by some other name, as Arnoldists, &c., another catalogue of heterodox opinions. But one general thing that they were all guilty of, is their renouncing and defying the church and pope of Rome. CHAP. VII. Year after the apostles.

And for the other opinions, (such I mean as are really false ones, and not only by the papists so accounted,) they run for the most part on the vein of the old Manichean heresy; and they do often expressly call them Manichees. The old Manichees held two principles, or gods; the one good and the other evil; and that the evil god made the material world: they renounce and blaspheme the Old Testament, and part of the New: they denied the resurrection of the body, believing that a man survives after death only by his soul: they had no use of baptism nor of marriage: they abhorred the eating of any flesh, &c. These same opinions, and other of the old Manichees, are generally the chief ingredients in the heresies imputed to these men.

There is also great variety in the account of their morals. Some give to those they describe, the character of sober, just, and conscientious men; though of heretical opinions. Others paint those they write against as men of lewd lives as well as doctrines. Most of the books against them are between the year 1140 and the year 1400. What was done against them afterward was chiefly by fire 1040.

CHAP. VII.

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and sword[7]. Several armies were, by the instigation of popes, and the forwardness of princes, sent against them: which sometimes dispersed them but could never extirpate them.

The countries that were fullest of them, were the south parts of France, for the Albigenses; and the north parts of Italy, and the valleys between the Alps, for the Waldenses. Which last place proved so good a refuge for them, that they have continued and do continue there to this day: save that the

7 [The reader, who is desirous of obtaining more ample information on these matters, is referred to the following works:

1. Perrin's Histoire des Vaudois, 1619.
2. Or, its translation by Lennard, 1624; as described in a former note.
3. P. Gilles, Histoire des Eglises Reformées de Piedmont, 4°. Geneva, 1644.
4. S. Morland's History of the evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piemont, folio, London, 1658.
5. Jean Leger, Histoire des Eglises évangéliques des Vallées de Piemont, folio, a Leyde, 1669.
6. The History of the Vaudois, by Peter Boyer, 12°. London, 1692.
7. Remarks on the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of Piedmont, by Peter Allix, 4°. London, 1690; reprinted at Oxford, 8°. 1821.
8. Remarks on the Ecclesiastical History of the Ancient Churches of the Albigenses, by the same, 4°. London, 1692; reprinted at Oxford, 8°. 1821.
9. Henri Arnaud, Histoire de la glorieuse Rentrée des Vaudois dans leurs Vallées, 8°. 1710.
10. A translation of the preceding work, with a compendious history of that people, by H. D. Acland. 8°. London, 1827.
11. An Excursion to the Mountains of Piemont, and researches among the Vaudois, by W. S. Gilly, 4°. London, 1824; 8°. corrected and enlarged edition, 1825.]

French king has lately driven out those that lived within his limits, and forced them to seek habitations in Germany and elsewhere. Yet some say that the inhabitants of the Cevennes, that are now in arms, are also the offspring of this people. CHA VII. Year aft the apostles.

It must be noted further, as to the matter of baptism, that some of the foresaid writers do represent those against whom they write, as denying all baptism: some others do so speak of them whom they oppose, as if they allowed baptism to the adult, but not to infants: and others, among all the false doctrines which they charge on those they write against, mention no error about baptism at all.

Now see the power of prejudice, which it has to make each party construe and interpret the same relations of matter of fact to the sense that their side would have to be true. The papists believe that all the accusations of these people are true: and that they were such in all points as those old monks and inquisitors have painted them. The protestant pædobaptists think that they really held those tenets against the church of Rome; but that all the rest are false and malicious accusations; among which they reckon that of their denying infants' baptism for one. And this is what the present Waldenses themselves do affirm. The antipædobaptists say, that all the protestant doctrines are truly imputed to them, and so is their denial of infant-baptism, but all the rest are false.

IV. I shall by no means undertake a recital of all the particular quotations: partly because they are so numerous, confused, and contrary to one another; but especially because they are so far below the date of those times which I have set

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myself to examine. Whatever the tenets of these men were, they are much too late to give us any direction about the sense of the primitive church. I shall only take hold of a handle which some of each of our opposite parties do give of an expedient to reconcile this historical difference. Which is by slitting the matter in dispute, and supposing that some sects of these people did deny infant-baptism, and others not.

For as Mr. Baxter says at one place[y]. 'Now I 'leave it to the reader, among many uncertainties, 'which of these he will believe most probable. '1. That all the parties were slandered: 2. Or 'that Peter and Henry were slandered, by occasion 'of the mixed Manichees, or by the vulgar lying 'levity, or popish malice. 3. Or whether Peter and 'Henry were guilty, as some now, though the rest 'were not. 4. Or,' &c.———. 'Believe which of 'these you find most cause.'

So likewise on the other side, Mr. Tombes says[z]: 'As for the Albigenses and Waldenses, it might be 'true that some might be against infant-baptism, 'yet others not:—Or it may be that they all at 'the beginning held so: but after left it.' And Mr. Danvers[a]: 'Neither would I be thought to 'assert such an universal harmony amongst the 'Waldenses in this thing, but that it is possible 'there might be some difference among some of 'them, even in this particular.'

So far they come toward a compliance. And there is nothing in so obscure a matter, and so

[y] More Proofs, p. 411.

[z] Praecursor, p. 32. [4to. London, 1652.]

[a] Treatise, part ii. ch. 7. p. 321. second edition.

perplexed an account, more probable than this. And to evince it, I shall, CHAP. VII.

1. Shew that there were many several sects of those men, whom we now call by one general name Waldenses: Year after the apostles.

2. Produce what proofs there are that some of them denied infant-baptism; and what probability they carry:

3. Shew how it appears of the most of them, that they did not deny it.

First, however later writers have agreed for method's sake to call them by one general name of Waldenses, (because that is the name that those which now remain call themselves by,) yet it is plain that at the beginning they were of several sorts, names, and opinions. Bishop Ussher, in his book *de Successione Ecclesiæ*, has proved, by good historical evidences, that there were some real Manichees that crowded in amongst them: which, as he supposes, gave occasion to the papists to slander the whole body. For the Manichees did really contemn all baptism, as the Quakers do now: and held many other of the worst opinions which are now affixed to the Quakers.

Eckbertus Schonaugiensis[b] wrote, anno 1160. a treatise against a people then spread in many countries, 'whom,' says he, 'our Germans call *Cathari*, 'puritans; the Flemish call them *Piphles*; the 'French, *Tesserant*[c]: (I suppose it is misprinted, 'he interprets it *weavers*.') Their tenets, which he repeats, shew them to be Manichees: such as, the a 1060.

[b] Serm. 1. Bibl. Patr. tom. xii. edit. Colon. 1618. [p. 898.]

[c] [This seems to be a misprint for *Tisserands*.]

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unlawfulness of marriage; of eating any flesh, as being the creature of the Devil; that Christ had no true human nature, &c. He had disputed with several of them: and he says, Serm. 1, 'They are 'also divided among themselves; for several things 'that are maintained by some of them are denied 'by others.' And of baptism particularly, he says; 'Of baptism they speak variously: that baptism 'does no good to infants, because they cannot of 'themselves desire it, and because they cannot pro-'fess any faith. But there is another thing which 'they more generally hold concerning that point, 'though more secretly, viz. that no water-baptism 'at all does any good for salvation: and therefore 'such as come over to their sect they rebaptize by 'a private way, which they call *baptism with the* '*Holy Spirit and with fire.*'

And in Serm. 8, which is a chapter on purpose to prove to them the use of water-baptism, (as the 7th is to prove infant-baptism,) he tells how this *baptism with fire* was: and he says he had heard it from one that had been at their secret meetings. It is in short thus; in a close room they light candles or torches, as many as can be placed, round by the walls and every where. The company stand in order with great reverence: the person that is to be baptized (*sive catharizandus*, or puritanized) is placed in the midst: the Archicatharus standing by him, with a book used to this purpose, lays the book on his head, and pronounces certain benedictions, the rest praying the while. This is called baptism with fire, because of the lights around, which make the room look almost as if it were on fire. But he tells them; 'This is not the way, you heretics;

'nor to the purpose that you pretend. You ought 'to make a good roasting fire, and put him in,' &c. CHAP. VII.

What he says of their slighting all water-baptism, but especially infant-baptism, does help to make one understand many passages that we meet with in the writings against these men. The sayings of many sorts of them, that are quoted as speaking against infant-baptism, ought not to be so taken as that they approved baptism of the adult, and denied it to infants: but they really looked on all water-baptism as a superstitious thing; only they thought it yet more absurd in the case of infants. They laughed at the Christians for two things: one, that they placed religion in washing people at all; and the other, that they did it to infants. When their arguments failed against baptism in general, they took the advantage of the incapacity of infants. And so do now the Quakers, some of the Socinians, the Deists, and such other sects as would have men go by reason rather than by Scripture; they undervalue this sacrament in general, but they particularly deride the applying of it to infants. Year after the apostles.

Pilichdorf also, writing against these men[d], gives an account of the difference of their several sects: he says, [ch. 12.] 'the Waldenses do dislike, and 'even loath the Runcarians, Beghards, and Luci-'ferians.' And that 'whereas all catholics from 'the four quarters of the world agree in the unity 'of the faith, the heretics do not so, but some of 'them condemn the rest,' &c. 1395.

But above all the rest, this is clearly made out 1154.

[d] Contra sectam Waldensium, c. 12. [apud Bibl. Patrum, tom. xiii. p. 312, &c.

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by Reinerius. He knew all the sorts, differences, and circumstances of those people that have been since styled Waldenses, better than any man. He had lived among them, and had been one of one sort of them for seventeen years, and then after his renouncing of them was made an inquisitor against them. It is pity that he had neither a style to write clearly, nor the candour to express their tenets fairly: he in representing their opinions frequently gives a turn to the expressions, which shews that his aim was to paint them as odious as he could. And that especially in the case of the Lyonists: for the others, they could not well be painted worse than they were. But these had gained such a repute by the innocence of their lives, and the soundness of their faith; that they did more hurt to the church of Rome than all the rest: therefore he does, as any one will perceive, endeavour to blacken their opinions in the recital.

He gives an account of seven sects of these men[e]. The Lyonists, or poor men of Lyons, the Runcarians, the Siscidenses, the Ortlibenses, the Paterins, the Ordibarians, and the Cathari, or puritans. It was of these last that he had been: which held the worst and most blasphemous opinions; 'That the 'Devil [or evil god] made this world and all things 'in it: that all the sacraments of the church, viz. 'the sacrament of baptism of material water, and 'the other sacraments, profit nothing to salvation. 'and are no true sacraments of Christ and his 'church, but vain and devilish.——Also that all 'infants, *etiam non baptizati*, even those that are

[e] Lib. adv. Waldenses, cap. 5, 6. apud Bibl. Patr. tom. 13. edit. Colon. 1618. [p. 297, &c.]

'not baptized, are punished eternally, no less
'murderers and thieves[f].' After a great many horrid opinions, he describes a practice which they used instead of baptism. They called it *the consolation*[g], and *the spiritual baptism*, or *the baptism with the Holy Spirit*. It had no use of water, nor of the Christian form of baptism. Year after the apostles.

It is remarkable what he says of one sect of these Cathari: that they held 'that Christ did not take 'on him human nature of the blessed Virgin, but 'took on him a body that was heavenly [or from 'heaven].' This was the opinion of some old heretics, and is said to be held by the present Minnists.

He says, the first of this sect came from Bulgaria, and a country that he calls Dugranicia. They were doubtless an offspring of the old Manichees; who, as well as these later, made use of the name of Jesus Christ, but denied the true history of him; and framed a notion of him more enthusiastical than that which the worst sort of our Quakers do by the name of Jesus Christ within them.

These Cathari, it seems, thought water-baptism a devilish thing: but that even without it infants (and men too that were not initiated in, and rescued by their rites) would be damned, as being of the Devil's make. Yet here, the Albanenses, one sect of the Cathari, dissent, Reinerius says; and say, 'No creature of the good God shall perish.' I suppose they meant, that their body shall be damned; but their soul, because that is made by the good God, shall be saved.

The Runcarians and Paterins say likewise, 'that

[f] Cap. 6. [g] [Consolamentum.]

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'Lucifer created all visible things.' One would think these should be the same that others call the Luciferians; but that Pilichdorf, in the place I mentioned, distinguishes them. These (and the Ortlibenses and Siscidenses, of whom he says little) have nothing about baptism. The Siscidenses, he says, hold the same as the Waldenses: 'save that 'they receive the communion.' Now whom he means by the Waldenses I know not; for this is the only place where he uses the name. This man wrote anno 1264.

The Ordibarians say, 'The world had no begin-'ning; that Christ was a sinner till he became of 'their sect. They deny the resurrection of the 'body, but not the immortality of the spirit [or 'soul]: they say, baptism is of no further value 'than are the merits of the baptiser: and that it 'does no good to infants, unless they be perfect in 'their sect.' So the words are: *nisi sint perfecti in* [illegible]. I think they mean, unless they be ini-[illegible] in their sect, [illegible].

[illegible] he says thus:

'There is no sect more pernicious to the church [illegible]

[illegible] he says, 'they condemn them [illegible] to be understood expressed; [illegible] of the sacraments, they did [illegible] only hold some heterodox opin-[illegible]

[illegible] baptism, [illegible] that catechism is [illegible] this also must be understood: [illegible] the articles of the [illegible] children to be useless.

[illegible]

But I guess by catechism here is meant the interrogations and answers at the baptizing of an infant. 'Also, that the washing that is given to children 'does no good.' By words so short one cannot tell which of these three tenets he would accuse them to hold: either, 1, that all baptismal washing is good for nothing. For so a Quaker now would say, 'the 'washing you give your children is good for no-'thing:' when his meaning is, that all baptism is so. But these people do not seem to have been Manichees. Or, 2ndly, that baptism is of no force when it is given to infants. But then it would have been plainer expressed: and he would have used the word *baptismus*, and not *ablutio*, which is spoken in disdain, and signifies an ordinary washing. Or, 3dly, that in baptism, the washing itself, or outward act taken by itself, is not that which saves, but God operating saves by it, as St. Peter says[1], *It is not the washing off the dirt of the flesh that saves.* This last I take to be what they might be likely to say. And this was a great heresy in those times, to deny that the sacraments do confer grace, *ex opere operato*: 'even by the mere outward work 'done.' Also, 'that the godfathers do not under-'stand what they answer to the priest.' Also, 'that 'the offering which is called *anwegung* is an inven-'tion.' Also, 'they dislike all the exorcisms and 'benedictions of baptism.'

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Here is evidence more than enough that there were several sects of this people. Which is what I proposed to prove by these passages.

V. And now, secondly, that some of them (I do not say, any of the Waldenses strictly so called;

[1] 1 Ep. iii. 21.

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but some of these sects, which about the same time and the same places opposing the church of Rome, are therefore by late writers huddled together under the name of Waldenses; that some of these, I say, did deny infants' baptism, there is this ground of probability.

First, one Evervinus of the diocese of Cologne,
1040. a little before the year 1140, writes to St. Bernard a letter, (which is lately brought to light by F. Mabillon, *Analect.* tom. iii.)[k] giving him an account of two sorts of heretics lately discovered in that country. One sort were, by his description, perfect Manichees. Of the other sort, he says; 'They 'condemn the sacraments, except baptism only; 'and this only in those who are come to age, who 'they say are baptized by Christ himself, whoever 'be the minister of the sacraments. They do not 'believe infant-baptism: alleging that place of the 'Gospel; *he that believeth, and is baptized*,' &c. 'All marriage they call fornication, except that 'which is between two virgins,' &c.

1046. Then at the year 1146, Peter, abbot of Clugny, writing against one Peter Bruis, and one Henry his disciple, and their associates[l], charges them with six errors: the first of which was their denial of infant-baptism. The other five were: 2. 'that 'churches ought not to be built; and if built, ought 'to be pulled down.' If we were to credit all the reports that come now from France, the Cevennois would seem to be of this opinion, by their destroying so many churches: but I hope that those re-

[k] [And p. 473. of the later edition, fol. Paris, 1723.]

[l] Epist. contra Petrobrusianos, [apud Bibl. Patrum, tom. xii. p. 206, &c. edit. Colon. 1618.]

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ports are not true. 3. 'That crosses ought not 'to be worshipped, but broken and burnt.' Peter Bruis had been, a little before the writing of this, taken and burnt himself. This writer says, it was a just judgment on him, who had burnt so many crosses. 4. 'That not only what Berengarius had 'said, viz. "That there is no transubstantiation in 'the sacrament," was true: but also that that sacra-'ment is no more to be administered since Christ's 'time.' 5. 'That dead men receive no benefit from 'the prayers, sacrifices, &c. of the living.' 6. 'That 'it is a mocking of God to sing in the church.'

He also says, that they were reported to 'renounce 'all the Old Testament, and all the New, except the 'four Gospels.' But this he was not sure of: and would not impute it to them, for fear he might slander them. So it appears that he did not certainly know what they held. Yet to make his proofs unquestionable, he first proves the truth of the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles, by their agreement with the Gospels: and then the Old Testament by the New. And then out of the whole proceeds to refute their tenets, bestowing a chapter on each. The first of them was, as I said, against infant-baptism; and is thus expressed.

The first proposition of the new heretics. They say,

'Christ sending his disciples to preach, says in 'the Gospel; *Go ye out into all the world, and 'preach the Gospel to every creature. He that be-'lieveth and is baptized, shall be saved: but he that 'believeth not, shall be damned.* From these words 'of our Saviour it is plain that none can be saved 'unless he believe and be baptized; that is, have

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'both Christian faith and baptism. For not one of 'these, but both together, does save. So that in- 'fants, though they be by you baptized, yet since 'by reason of their age they cannot believe, are not 'saved. It is therefore an idle and vain thing for 'you to wash persons with water, at such a time 'when you may indeed cleanse their skin from dirt 'in a human manner, but not purge their souls from 'sin. But we do stay till the proper time of faith: 'and when a person is capable to know his God, and 'believe in him; then we do (not, as you charge us, 'rebaptize him, but) baptize him. For he is to be 'accounted as not yet baptized, who is not washed 'with that baptism by which sins are done away.'

This is, as to the practice, perfectly agreeable with the modern antipædobaptists: but, as Cassander observes[m], it is upon quite contrary grounds. For the antipædobaptists now do generally hold, that all that die infants, baptized or not, of Christian or of heathen parents, are saved; and so it is needless to baptize them: whereas these held that, baptized or not, they could not be saved; and so it was to no purpose to baptize them. And this writer does accordingly spend most of the chapter, which is in answer to this tenet of theirs, in proving that infants as well as grown men are capable of the kingdom. 'Abate,' says he, 'of that overmuch 'severity which you have taken upon you,—— 'and do not exclude infants from the kingdom of 'heaven; of whom Christ says, *Of such is the king-* '*dom of heaven.*' Also he argues that the infants of the Jews had a possibility of being saved, viz. if they were circumcised; and if the children of

[m] De Baptismo Infantium.

o be saved, we are in much CHAP. VII.
l at last he concludes that
ce that is between mercy Year after the apostles.
ender regard to one's chil-
, between Christ lovingly
e heretics impiously repel-

this author speaks of this
on foot; and says, it might 1026.
or deserve any confutation,
d now continued twenty
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this charge of novelty, by
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by baptizing infants for
as given but a mock-bap-
stical Christians, &c.——
e, Spain, Germany, Italy,
never a person now for
five hundred years bap-
infancy, it has had never

Bernard, abbot of Clareval, 1047.
[p. 206. G. et 208. B.]

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commonly called St. Bernard, was desired by pope Eugenius to accompany some bishops whom he sent into those parts, to stop the spreading of these doctrines, and to reduce those that had been led into them. And when they were come nigh to the territory of the earl of St. Gyles', Bernard writes a letter to the said earl[o], who at that time harboured the foresaid Henry in his country, recounting what mischiefs that heretic, as he calls him, had done. 'The churches are without people, the people without priests, &c. God's holy place is accounted 'profane, the sacraments are esteemed unholy, &c. 'Men die in their sins, their souls carried to that 'terrible judicature, alas! neither reconciled by penance, nor strengthened by the holy communion: 'the infants of Christians are hindered from the life 'of Christ, the grace of baptism being denied them: 'nor are they suffered to come to their salvation, 'though our Saviour compassionately cry out in 'their behalf, saying, *Suffer little children to come 'to me,*' &c. He tells the earl, that it is little for his credit to harbour such a man that had been expelled from all places of France where he had come. The issue was, Henry was banished.

I know not whether it was before this, or after, (I think it was after,) that St. Bernard writing his sixty-fifth and sixty-sixth Sermon on the Canticles[p], takes occasion to discourse largely against a sort of heretics, whom he names not, but says they called themselves apostolical men. He describes them thus in several places of those two sermons: 1st, 'that they held it unlawful to swear in any other

[o] Epist 240. [Op. tom. ii. p. 275. edit. Paris. 1586.]

[p] [Op. tom. i. p. 988, &c.]

'case: but being examined of their tenets, they 'would swear and forswear in the denial of them.' CHAP. VII.
And that 'to conceal their opinions, they would 'give catholic answers to all questions of the 'faith; they would go to church, shew respect to 'the minister, offer their gift, receive the sacra-'ment,' &c. He shews by Scripture that all true religion owns itself. And this receiving the communion in dissimulation, is what Reinerius, about a hundred years after this time, observes, that the Siscidenses would then do, and the Lyonists, he says, would; but the Waldenses would not. 2. 'That 'they held marriage to be a wicked uncleanness, '(only some of them said that virgins might marry, 'but none else,) and yet they kept company with 'women in a way that gave great scandal: and 'women used to run away from their husbands 'and come and live with them. That they held 'uncleanness to be only in the use of a wife:' whereas that is, as he shews, the only case which makes it to be none. 3. 'That they held the eating 'of all flesh, and milk, and whatever is generated 'of copulation, unlawful. He says if they did this out of desire to keep under the body, he would not blame them: but if it was out of a Manichean principle, (for this as well as the foregoing was a tenet of the old Manichees,) they fell under that censure of the apostle[q], teaching *doctrines of devils—forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats*, &c. 4. 'That they owned not the Old 'Testament, and some of them none of the New, 'but the Gospels.' 5. 'That they denied purgatory.' 6. 'They laugh at us,' says he, 'for baptizing infants,

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[q] 1 Tim. iv. 1. 3.

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'for our praying for the dead, and for desiring the 'prayers of the saints.' So he gives in opposition to them the grounds of infant-baptism, as well as of the other doctrines by them denied.

The heretics he speaks of here, appear plainly to have been of Manichean principles; and so probably to have derided all baptism: whereas Henry, as well as Peter Bruis, allowed of water-baptism to the adult: so that probably these mentioned in the sermons are not the same with those in the letter; for Peter and Henry are charged with no Manichean doctrine, save that Peter of Clugny had heard some say, that they denied all the Scripture but the Gospels; but he owns that he had no certain account of that: and probably the report that imputed it to them arose by mistaking the tenets of these for those.

1192. Then at the year 1192, one Alanus reckoning up the opinions of the Cathari, says, some of them held baptism of no use to infants; others of them to no persons at all.

It is to be noted, that neither Petrus nor Bernard do call them that they write against, Waldenses; nor do so much as mention the name: nor was there, I believe, any such name then known.

These are the only four writers that I know of, that do plainly accuse those they write against, of denying baptism *peculiarly* to infants. And the only persons they mention are, that Peter and Henry, and their followers: for those of Cologne seem to have rambled thither from Dauphiné, where Bruis had begun to preach about twenty years before.

Mr. Stennet, in his answer to Russen, ch. iv. p. 84. would indeed have us believe that there were, above
92 one hundred years before this time, viz. anno 1025,

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some that denied baptism peculiarly to infants, namely, the followers of Gundulphus. For this, he quotes a passage reported by Dr. Allix[r] from the history of a synod held at Arras that year, which is lately brought to light by Dacherius, *Spicileg.* tom. xiii, where these men, being examined by the bishop of Cambray, do indeed deny that baptism can do any good to infants. But in the same examination being farther interrogated, the men confessed that they thought water-baptism of no use or necessity to any one, infant or adult. Now this is not fair quoting, to take the first of these, and leave out the latter part which follows in Dr. Allix's book. These men, whom Mr. Stennet represents as antipædobaptists, (and if they had been so, they would have been the earliest that any history mentions,) were, as to the point of baptism, Quakers or Manichees.

And so all the other writers that I have seen (except the four aforesaid) do, if they have any thing at all about the denial of baptism, impute to the heretics they speak of, the denial of all water-baptism. As the fragments of the history of Aquitain, cited by Pithæus; Joannes Floriacensis cited by Massonius; Radulphus Ardensis, and many more, whose sayings are produced by bishop Ussher[s]. The words of Eckbertus I gave before[t], 'that infants ought to have no baptism, and grown persons no water-baptism.' Reinerius, as I said, about the Lyonists speaks ambiguously. Erbrardus and

[r] [In his 'Remarks on the Ancient Churches of Piedmont,' chap. ii.]

[s] Lib. de Success. Eccles. [cap. viii. §. 22.] [t] §. 4.

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Ermingardus are cited by Danvers[u], as witnesses th
some of whom they write denied infant-baptism: b
Year after the apostles. Mr. Baxter having searched them says[x], that th
speak of those people as denying the law and t
prophets: maintaining the two gods, whereof t
evil one made the world: denying the resurrectio
and all use of marriage, or the lawfulness of
So that they must have been Manichees, who
all of them deny all baptism, but especially infa
baptism.

William of Newburg, who lived then in Englan
describes some of these men by the name of Pub
cani, and by their being Gascoigners; and say
about thirty of them came out of Germany in
1070. England under Henry II, about 1170, and bei
examined of their faith, they denied and detest
holy baptism, the eucharist, and marriage. Foxe
out of Historia Gisburnensis, mentions the sam
men: and that the chief of them were Gerhardus
and Dulcinus Navarensis. He gives no account of
any opinion they had against baptism. But Holin-
shed[a] says, they derogated from the sacraments
such grace, as the church by her authority had
then ascribed to them.

Several councils and decretals made about thi
time do establish the doctrine of baptism both fi

[u] Treatise, part ii. ch. 7. p. 250. [Danvers however mispells the latter name, *Ermengendus*.]

[x] More Proofs, p. 394.

[y] [Gulielmi Neubrigensis Historia rerum Anglicarum, cura Tho. Hearnii, 3 tom. 8°. Oxonii, 1719.] lib. ii. cap. 13.

[z] [Acts and Monuments, vol. i. p. 262. edit. 1641.]

[a] [Chronicles, year 1160. vol. iii. p. 68. edit. 1586.]

general, and also particularly that of infants, in opposition, as it seems, to some that denied all baptism, and to others that denied that of infants. As for example, the Laterun council under pope Innocent III. anno 1215. cap. i. "The sacrament of "baptism performed in water with invocation of "the Trinity is profitable to salvation, both to adult "persons and also to infants, by whomsoever it is "rightly administered in the form of the church." And the said pope has in his Decretals a letter in answer to a letter from the bishop of Arles in Provence, which had represented to him that "some "heretics there had taught that it was to no purpose "to baptize children, since they could have no "forgiveness of sins thereby, as having no faith, "charity," &c.

Also the Laterun council under Innocent II. 1139, did condemn Peter Bruis and Arnold of Brescia

[redacted]

A.P. II. not only by many instances in that ignorant age; in which the monks, who were then the only writers, verified in themselves too much that character quoted by St. Paul [b], *always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies*; but also by too many in this age; as Vicecomes a learned papist has in this very matter to his own shame [c] left on record, that Luther, Calvin, and Beza were adversaries of infant-baptism.

2. That we ought in all reason either to deny credit to these popish writers concerning these men, or else to believe them in one thing as well as another. If we allow them for good witnesses, then those that they describe were men of such unsound opinions in other things, as that no church would be willing to own them for predecessors; but if we account them slanderers, we ought not to conclude from their testimony that any of these men denied infant-baptism; which does not appear by any of their own confessions, and which the present Waldenses do account as a slander cast on their ancestors.

These considerations do in great measure justify those pædobaptists, who maintain that there is no *certain* evidence of any church or society of men that opposed infant-baptism, till those in Germany about 180 years ago. The proof concerning any sort of the Waldenses is but probable. I owned before that the probability is such as does weigh with me for the Petrobrusians, and perhaps some of

[b] Titus i. 12.

[c] De Rit. Bapt. ib. ii. cap. 1. [See Josephi Vicecomitis Observationes Ecclesiasticæ, 4 tom 4°. Mediolani, 1615, &c. tom. i. p. 103.]

the Albigenses. But for the main body of Waldenses there is no probability at all. CHAP. VII.

VI. And now, thirdly, that there were several sects or sectaries of them that did not deny the baptism of infants, is proved from this; that a great many writers against them, diligently reciting the erroneous opinions of those they write against, and that often in smaller matters, yet mention nothing of this. Year after the apostles.

Lucas Tudensis[d] writes largely against the Albigenses that were then in Spain: but among all the accusations of them, true or false, has nothing of this. 1136.

Petrus de Pilichdorf (in the year 1395, as he himself gives the date, cap. 30,) writes a book of confutation of the several pretended errors of the Waldenses of his time in thirty-six chapters[e], but has nothing of baptism; though he descends to speak of many lesser matters, and aggravates all with very railing words, yet he finds nothing to accuse them of, but such things as the protestants now hold, except one or two, as the 'unlawfulness of 'all oaths,' &c. 1395.

Æneas Sylvius wrote in 1458 his Historia Bohemica, in which he reckons up the tenets of the Picards, a sort of these men. But[f] he mentions no difference they had with the then established church about infant baptism, save that they spoke against chrism, &c. And Foxe, reciting their tenets out of him, mentions only this, 'that 1358.

[d] [See his work in four books, in vol. 13 of the Bibliotheca Patrum. Cologne edition, 1618.]

[e] [See this in the same volume of the above-named collection.]

[f] Usher de Success. Eccles. cap. 6. [Sect. 15, 16. p. 80. edit. 1687.] Baxter, More Proofs, &c. p. 380.

CHAP. VII.

Year after the apostles.

'baptism ought to be administered with pure water, 'without any hallowed oil.' Nauclerus also in his Chronicon, written 1500, recites their doctrines particularly [g], and mentions no such thing as the denial of infant-baptism; yet he also takes notice of so small a matter, as that they affirmed water to be sufficient without oil. There are in Gretzer's Collection [h] of pieces written against the Waldenses, six treatises in all (beside Reinerius and Pilichdorf mentioned already) reckoning up their heretodox opinions; but not one word of this. One of them is a direction to the inquisitors, in the examining of these men, how to discover and convict them; for it seems they kept their opinions very close; whereas if they had not baptized their children, nothing would have been a more ready conviction. The Magdeburgenses [i] have a catalogue of their opinions, taken as they say out of a very old manuscript; and nothing of this. Bishop Ussher quotes [k] also Jacob Picolominæus, Antonius Bonfinius, Bernardus Lutzenburgensis, and several others treating of these sorts of men, who object nothing of this.

1400. 1362. 1395.

VII. I have, more than ever I meant to do, troubled myself in inquiring into the history of these men; and all that I can make of the inquiry is this:

First, there were a great many among them that really held the impious opinion of the Manichees:

[g] [See Johannis Naucleri Chronica, fol. Coloniæ, 1579. vol. ii. Generat. 47. p. 1233.] Vol. ii. part ii. p. 265.

[h] Bibl. Patrum, tom. xiii. edit. Colon. 1618.

[i] Cent. 12. cap. 8. p. 1206. [tom. vii. edit. Basil. 1569.]

[k] De Success. Eccles. cap. 6. p. 155. Item, p. 306, &c. [p. 80. et 149, edit. fol. 1687.]

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Year after the apostles.

some of this sect were in these countries before the Waldenses, whom the protestants own for predecessors, arose or were taken notice of; which was after the year 1100. These, all of them, denied *all* water baptism. So the Quakers may claim kindred of them if they please; but no baptist, whether pædobaptist or antipædobaptist, can. They had an invention of their own, which they used instead of the Christian baptism, and which they called *spiritual baptism*: and they said[l], 'by it forgiveness 'of sins, and the Holy Spirit was given. It con- 'tained in it imposition of their hands, and the say- 'ing of the Lord's Prayer. Only one sect of them, 'the Albanenses, said the hand did no good; being, 'as all other flesh is, created by the Devil. So they 'used the prayer only.'

These men were thus far on the antipædobaptists' side, that this mock-baptism of theirs they gave to the adult only. And they derided the Christians for two things: one, that they used baptism with water at all; and the other, that they gave it to persons that had no sense of it, viz. infants. And this, for ought I know, might be all the ground of the Waldenses (who by the first writers are not well distinguished from these men) being accused of denying infant-baptism.

This sort of men continued a considerable time. Reinerius says[m], in his time 'there was not above 1154. '4000 in all the world that were Cathari, quite pure '[or perfect] of both sexes; but of Credentes (so 'they called their disciples that were not yet per- 'fect) an innumerable multitude.'

[l] Reinerius, cap. 6. [m] Ibid.

CHAP. VII.

Year after the apostles.

Though the authors do not well distinguish the names, yet most generally this sort, that denied all baptism, and held the other vile opinions, are denoted by these names, Cathari, Apostolici, Luciferians, Runcarians, Popelicans, alias Publicans.

2. There were another sort that held none of those impious tenets of the Manichees, concerning two Gods, &c. But they joined with the other in inveighing against the church of Rome, which in these times began to be very corrupt. And the papists do sometimes confound these with the other, and affix to these some of the opinions of the other.

If any of these that owned water-baptism denied it to infants, and if Petrus Cluniacensis did not mistake their opinion upon the occasion aforesaid, it was the Petrobrusians, otherwise called Henricians. What Reinerius says of the Lyonists is very general and obscure: and of the others no such thing is said. Especially this is constant; that no one author that calls the people he writes of Waldenses, does impute to them the denial of infant-baptism.

3. If there were any such, they seem not to have continued long, but to have dwindled away or come over to those that practised infant-baptism; for none of the later writers concerning these men do charge them with any thing of this. This the reader will observe, if he mind the date of the year which I have affixed to each writer. And it is a manifest sign that either none of those whom we now denote by the name Waldenses, that owned water-baptism, held any thing against infant-baptism; but that the elder writers imputed it to them

upon the mistake aforesaid of taking the Manichees' opinions for theirs; or upon vulgar reports, which by this time appeared to be false: or else, that if there had been formerly any such sects in that great variety, they were by this time extinguished. CHAP. VII. Year after the apostles.

Pilichdorf writes against them under the name of Waldenses. Reinerius does but once just mention that name, as denoting one sect: one cannot tell which. But Pilichdorf entitles his book Against the Sect of the Waldenses, and calls them at every word *Waldensian heretics*; but ascribes no opinion to them that deserves that name, nor any error at all about baptism. He is the only man of their adversaries, who though he give them ill language, yet charges them with no particular opinion (or no material one) but what they themselves own in their confessions. He wrote, as I said, anno 1395, by which time their opinions must be justly and distinctly known. If they had formerly been mistaken to be of the same opinion with those Manichean sects, they had now had time to clear themselves from that imputation. And so we find by his words they did; for he says[n], the Waldenses 'do 'dislike and even loathe the Runcarians, Beghards, 'and Luciferians.' And they seem by his description to have been in the same state of religion that they were found in 130 years after by the protestants. 1295. 1425.

And he also supposes that from their beginning they had been free from any false doctrine about the sacraments; for in his first chapter he speaks of their original: that it was from one Peter Wal-

[n] Cap. 12.

CHAP. VII.

Year after the apostles.

1040. 1060.

densis (others call him Waldus), who in the time of Innocent the Second, (so he says, but others place him at 1160, which was the time of Alexander the Third,) reading that command of our Saviour to the rich young man, Matt. xix. 21, (some others also add, that he was also affrighted at the sudden death of one of his companions,) took a resolution of selling all he had, and giving it to the poor: and was imitated by some others, particularly one John of the city of Lyons. After a while they took on them to preach; and being forbid, (for they were laymen,) they refused to forbear, and so were excommunicated. Then they betook themselves to preaching privately; and, as he adds, 'out of hatred to the 'clergy and the true priesthood, they began out of 'the errors of old heretics, and adding some new 'and pernicious articles, to destroy, condemn, and 'reject all those means by which the clergy, as a 'good mother, do gather their children, except the '*sacraments* only.'

He means, as appears by what follows, they rejected indulgences, pardons, canonical hours, prayers to the saints, &c. But if they had rejected infant-baptism, he would not have failed to have mentioned that. By which it appears, that either this man had never heard of the Petrobrusians, or else had not heard that they denied infant-baptism; or else did not take them to have been Waldenses.

And in this last mentioned sense Cassander[o] speaks of the Petrobrusians, as a sect that, together with the salvation of infants, denied their baptism: but of the Waldenses, as practising it.

[o] De Baptismo Infantium. [In præfatione, pag. 671. Oper. Omn. fol. Paris. 1616.]

CHAP. VII.

The Petrobrusians could not properly be called Waldenses, because they set up their party before Waldus did his. For Peter Bruis had preached twenty years when Cluniacensis wrote, as I shewed before: which was 1146. And Waldus began, by the earliest account, in the time of Pope Innocent the Second, whose first year was 1130.

Year after the apostles. 1026. 1046. 1030.

So if we take the name [Waldenses] strictly, for one sort of men, as those old writers generally do; then there is no account that any of them were antipædobaptists. But if we take it in that large sense as many late writers do, to include all the sorts that I have rehearsed, then there is probable evidence that one sort of them, viz. the Petrobrusians, were so; but not that the general body of the Waldenses were. And that opinion of the Petrobrusians seems to have been in a short time extinguished and forgotten.

VIII. Now because I take this Peter Bruis (or Bruce perhaps his name was) and Henry to be the first antipædobaptist preachers that ever set up a church or society of men holding that opinion against infant-baptism, and rebaptizing such as had been baptized in infancy; I will, for the sake of the antipædobaptists, give the history of them, so far as it is upon record. And the same thing may gratify the Quakers; for I believe they were the first likewise of all that have owned the Scriptures, (as I see no reason to conclude but this people did; though there was a report that they rejected some books of them,) that ever taught that the use of receiving the Lord's Supper is not to be continued.

They were both Frenchmen. Both of mean rank

CHAP. VII.

[one after he apostatized.]

or quality: for Peter of Clugny[p] bespeaks them thus: 'Because the darkness of a mean condition 'kept you obscure, had you therefore a mind by 'some very wicked exploit to make yourselves to be 'taken notice of[q]?' Yet they had been in priest's orders, and had each of them a place or employment in that office; but the benefices belonging to them were, it seems, but small. Because he says; 'If the places wherein you ministered as presbyters 'afforded you but little gain, would you therefore 'resolve to turn all into confusion and profaneness?' Peter had had a church or parish, but was turned out of it; and, as this writer insinuates, for some misdemeanour. Henry had been a monk, and had deserted the monastery. For so he adds; 'because 'one of you was for a reason (he knows why) 'turned out of the church which he had,' &c. 'The 'other throwing off the monk's habit, turning an 'apostate,' &c.

The places where Bruis first made a party and gained proselytes were in that country which is since called Dauphiné. For the book, which Peter of Clugny writes against them, is by way of a letter to three bishops, within whose dioceses this had happened: and the bishops were Eberdunensis, Diensis, and Wapiensis; the bishops of Embrun, Die, and Gap. In the preface (which was written some time after

p [See the works of this author, Peter Mauritius, abbot of Clugny, fol. Paris, 1522: or, in the collection entitled *Bibliotheca Cluniacensis*, fol. Paris, 1612: or, in vol. xii. part 2. of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, Cologne edition, fol. 1618.]

q Answer to their fourth Article. [Contra id quod dicunt, Missam nihil esse nec celebrari debere, pag. 228. G. apud tom. xii. Bibl Patr. edit Colon. 1618.]

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the book, and after Bruis was dead) there is added the archbishop of Arles in Provence. But it is said in the book, that the city of Arles itself was free from the infection; only some parts of his province had been drawn into this persuasion. It was in the mountainous and wild parts of the said dioceses that it first took footing: for so Cluniacensis writes[r]: 'I should have thought that it had been those craggy 'Alps, and rocks covered with continual snow, that 'had bred that savage temper in the inhabitants; 'and that your land, being unlike to all other lands, 'had yielded a sort of people unlike to all others; 'but that I now perceive,' &c.

Year after the apostles.

The time that it began, he mentions to have been twenty years before. And at the time when the book was writ, (which was 1146,) those foresaid dioceses were, he says, clear of it. By the care of the said bishops it had been rooted out there: but that the preachers, when expelled thence, had planted it in the plain countries of Provincia Narbonensis. And there, says he, 'the heresy which among you 'was but timorously whispered or buzzed about in 'deserts and little villages, does now boldly vent 'itself in great crowds of people, and in populous 'towns.' And the places specified in the books are, the places about the mouth of the Rhone, the plain country about Tholouse, and particularly that city itself, and many places in the province of Gascoigne. About the year 1144, Bruis being then in the territory of St. Gyles', where he had made many proselytes, he was, by the zeal of the faithful people (so Cluniacensis calls it) taken, and in that city, according to the laws then, burnt to death. The

1026. 1046. 1144.

[r] Prope initium Epistolæ. [p. 208. C. Bibl. Patr.]

ompute thus: Cluniacensis had wrote that
the bishops aforesaid; but understanding
uis was put to death, and the doctrine
d out of their dioceses, he suppressed the
g of his letter; but hearing that Henry,
m he calls the heir of Bruis' wickedness, did still
e it in several places, and that there was
f its reviving where it seemed to be extinct,
e put a new preface to his work and published it;
which was in the year 11 .

Of the morals of Peter Bruis this writer gives no account, save that he describes in how tumultuous and outrageous a way things were managed by him and his party, where they prevailed*; 'The people 'rebaptized; the churches profaned; the altars dug 'up; the crosses burnt; the priests scourged; monks 'imprisoned,' &c. And he tells how they would, on a Good-Friday to choose, get together a great pile of crosses which they had pulled down, and making a fire of them, would roast meat at it; on which they would make a feast, in defiance of the fast kept by Christians on that day.

As for Henry, after he had gone about preaching in many cities and provinces of France, he was on the year 1146 or 7 found in the said territory of the earl of St. Gyles', when St. Bernard and some bishops came to those parts to confute these new doctrines. And of him Bernard does give a character in his letter to that earl; and it is a very scurvy character for a preacher.

'The man,' says he, 'is a renegado, who, leaving 'off his habit of religion, (for he was a monk,) 'returned, as a dog to his vomit, to the filthiness of

* Prope ab initio. [p. 208. A. ibid.]

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'the flesh and the world: and being ashamed to 'stay where he was known, &c., he became a vaga- 'bond; and being in beggary, he made the gospel 'maintain him; (for he is a scholar;) and setting to 'sale the word of God, he preached for bread. 'What he got of the silly people, or of the good 'women, more than would find him victuals, he spent 'in gaming at dice, or some worse way; for this 'celebrated preacher, after the day's applause, was 'at night often found in bed with whores, and 'sometimes with married women. Inquire, if you 'please, noble sir, how he left the city Losanna, 'what sort of departure he made out of Mayne, and 'also from Poictou, and from Bourdeaux: to none 'of which places he dares return, having left such a 'stink behind him.' If any one shall think that in the credit one is to give to this description there ought to be some allowance made for the malice of his enemies, I have nothing to say against that.

He that writes the life of St. Bernard[t], says, that upon this mission Henry fled, and lying hid for some time, but 'nobody being willing to receive 'him, was at last taken and delivered chained to the 'bishop,' (the bishop of Ostia, I suppose; who was a cardinal, and the chief man of the mission,) but what was done with him is not said. But of the people it is said, that 'those who had erred were 'reduced, the wavering were satisfied, and the

[t] Gaufrid. lib. iii. chap. 5. [See the life of St. Bernard, in seven books, (three of which are by Gaufridus, his secretary, afterwards abbot of Clairvaux,) prefixed to the edition of Bernard's works by Horstius, published at Lyons in folio, 1679. book iii. chap. 6. sect. 17. p. 34. In former editions only five books were given, and the passage cited was found in chapter 5. (not 6.) as in the edit. of 1586: tom. ii. p. 828.]

CHAP. VII.

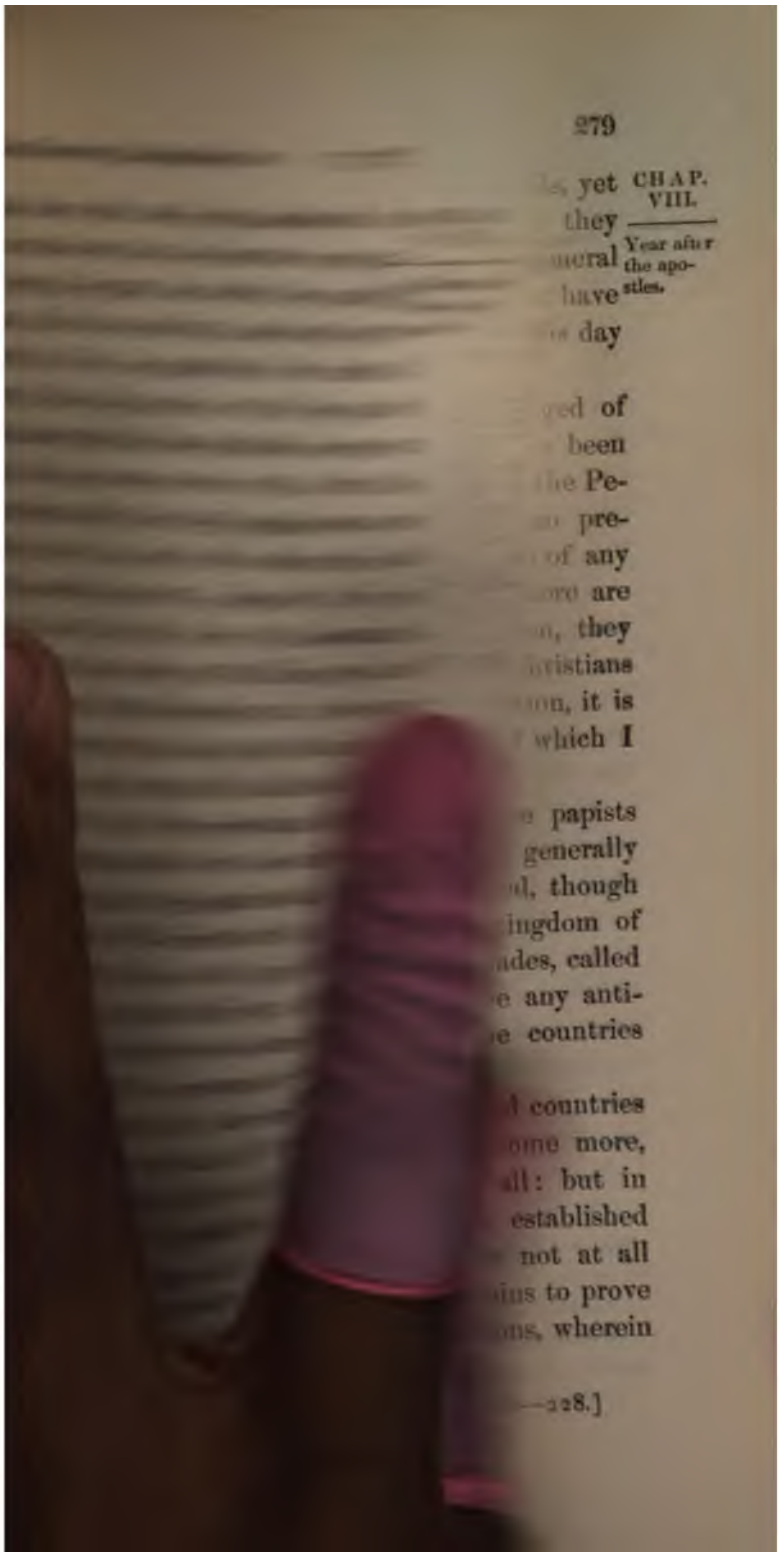
Year after the apostles.

time I compute thus: Cluniacensis had wrot
letter to the bishops aforesaid; but underst
that Bruis was put to death, and the
expelled out of their dioceses, he suppress
publishing of his letter; but hearing that
whom he calls the heir of Bruis' wickedne
propagate it in several places, and that
danger of its reviving where it seemed to be
he put a new preface to his work and publi
1146. which was in the year 1146.

Of the morals of Peter Bruis this write
account, save that
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CHAP. VII.

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1048.

'seducers so confuted that they durst nowhere 'appear.' And a little after this, Bernard has a letter to the people of Tholouse[u], congratulating their recovery from the confusions that had been among them on account of those opinions.

Their way of preaching against the other sacrament, of the Lord's Supper, is thus represented by Cluniacensis[x]: 'Your words, as near as I can learn 'them, are these: "Oh good people, do not believe 'your bishops, presbyters, and clergymen that seduce 'you. As they deceive you in many other things, 'so they do in the office of the altar; where they 'tell you this lie, that they do make the body of 'Christ, and give it you for the salvation of your 'souls. They lie notoriously. For the body of 'Christ was only once made by himself at the sup-'per before his passion; and was once only, viz. at 'that time, given to his disciples. Since that time 'it was never made by any one, nor given to any 'one."'

As the people of this way were from Peter Bruis commonly called Petrobrusians; so they were, from Henry, sometimes called Henricians.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the present state of the Controversy. That all the National Churches in the World are Pædobaptists. Of the Antipædobaptists that are in Germany, Holland, England, Poland, and Transylvania.

§. I. ALL the opinions that had any great number of abettors in the ancient times, though they

[u] Ad Tolosanos, Epist. 241. [apud Bernardi Op. tom. ii. p. 276. edit. 1586.]

[x] Ad Artic. 4tum. [apud Bibl. Patr. ut supra, p. 228. A.]

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Year after the apostles.

may have been condemned by general councils, yet have so continued or sprung up afresh, that they have in some country or other become the general opinion. So Nestorianism, Eutychianism, &c., have each of them found some place, in which to this day they do prevail as the national constitution.

As for antipædobaptism, whatever be judged of the proofs brought to shew that there have been some societies of men that have owned it, as the Petrobrusians lately mentioned, &c., there is no pretence that it has been, or is now, the opinion of any national church in the world. Wherever there are at present any Christians of that persuasion, they are as dissenters from the general body of Christians in that place. If this admit of any exception, it is in the country of Georgia, or Circassia: of which I shall speak presently.

This, for all Europe, is notorious. The papists do not only own infant-baptism, but do generally still hold that an infant dying unbaptized, though by misadventure, cannot come to the kingdom of heaven; but must go to the region of Hades, called *limbus infantum*. And they have scarce any antipædobaptists mixed among them in the countries where they have the government.

In many of the protestant or reformed countries there are some of this persuasion; in some more, in some fewer, and in some none at all: but in none of them has it prevailed to be the established religion. And though the contrary be not at all pretended, yet Mr. Walker has taken pains to prove this by reciting[y] their several confessions, wherein

[y] Modest Plea, ch. xxvii. [sect. 5 and 6. p. 226—228.]

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they own infant-baptism; and among the rest, that of the Waldenses or Vaudois assembled at Angrogne.

Year after the apostles. 1435.

The church of England is taken notice of by some to speak very moderately in this matter[z]: 'The baptism of young children is in any wise to be 'retained in the church, as most agreeable with the 'institution of Christ.' Yet they own, as I shewed before[a], the 'necessity of this sacrament where it 'may be had.' And they do not think fit to use the office of burial (in which the deceased is styled a brother) for infants that die without it.

The Greek Christians also of Constantinople, and other parts of Europe under the Turk's dominion, are known to baptize infants. Sir Paul Ricaut, among others, has given a full account[b] of their manner of doing it; and wherein they differ from the ceremonies of the Latins.

The same may be said of the Muscovites; who were from their first conversion a part of the Greek church, but do of late choose a patriarch of their own. Of their practice in this matter for the last centuries, Mr. Walker has recited evidences in the chapter aforesaid; and for their present practice every one knows it. They are said formerly to have baptized none before the fortieth day, except in case of necessity; but Dr. Crull, who has wrote latest of them, says[c], that now 'they baptize their 'children as soon as they are born.'

II. In all the countries of Asia, the government is either Mahometan or Pagan. Yet in many of them,

[z] Article XXVII. [a] Ch. vi. §. 8.

[b] Present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches, ch. vii. [p. 161. 8°. London, 1679.]

[c] Present State of Muscovy, vol. i. cap. 11. [p. 192.]

and especially of those under the Turks, the greatest part of the people are still Christian: there are also many Christians in several of the countries that are under the Persian government; and some in those of the Mogul. These have all continued now a long time under persecution and daily hardships, and in great wants of the means of instruction; yet have kept most of the main articles of the Christian religion. They are some of them Nestorians, as those who acknowledge the patriarch of Mosul; some Eutychians, as the Jacobites, the Maronites, (and the Armenians, as most say; but sir Paul Ricaut judges otherwise of them). An account of their several tenets is given by Brerewood, in his Inquiries, Heylyn in his Cosmography, &c. They do all hold and practise infant-baptism.

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Col. Danvers says[d], that 'the Armenians are 'confessed by Heylyn, Microcosm, p. 573, to defer 'baptism of children till they be of grown years.' Heylyn in his youth wrote a short tract of geography, called Microcosm[e]: and afterward living to a more mature age, he wrote a large volume on the same subject, called Cosmography; wherein he added a great many particulars concerning each nation, that were not in the former piece: also several things he altered and amended upon better information; and he left out such things as he had not found to be

[d] Treatise, part i. ch. 7. cent. 16. [p. 81.]

[e] [Dr. Heylyn's first piece came out under the title of 'Micro-'cosmus, a Little Description of the Great World.' This appeared first in 1621, again in 1624. Third edition, in which he acknowledges the errors and defects of the former two, in 1627.

In 1665 the enlarged work was published, entitled 'Cosmo-'graphy, in Four Books,' &c. folio, being the fourth edition. The fifth in 1673.]

CHAP. VIII.

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confirmed. Now in that former piece he had divided Armenia into three parts: 1. that which is properly so called; 2. Georgia; 3. Mengrelia: and of the Christians of Armenia properly so called, had said, that one of the things in which they differ from the western Christians is, 'in receiving infants to the 'Lord's table presently after their baptism.' Which he also confirms in the later book[f]. Of the Georgians, [Colchians,] he had indeed said in that former piece, that 'they baptize not their children till 'eight years old.' But in the later and larger tract says no such thing: but, on the contrary, says, 'they are agreeable in doctrinal points to the church 'of Greece, whose rituals also the people do to this 'day follow: not subject for all that to the patri-'arch of Constantinople, (though of his communion,) 'but to their own metropolitan only[g].'

For what he had said of them in his former piece, 'that they baptize not till the eighth year,' he had quoted in the margin Brerewood. But Brerewood, in the edition that I have, (London, 1622[h],) does not say this of the Georgians: but making one chapter (chap. xvii.) of the Georgians, Circassians, and Mengrelians; (whom he makes three several people all bordering together;) of the Georgians says the same that Heylyn does in his later book, viz. that they are conformable to the Greeks: but says, that 'the Circassians baptize not their children till the 'eighth year, and enter not into the church (the 'gentlemen especially) till the sixtieth (or as others 'say, till the fortieth) year, but hear divine service

[f] Lib. iii. in Turcomania, [p. 125. edit. 1676.]

[g] [Ibid. p. 130.]

[h] [It is exactly the same in the earlier edition of 1614.]

'standing without the temple; that is to say, till 'through age they grow unable to continue their 'rapines and robberies, to which sin that nation is 'exceedingly addicted: so dividing their life betwixt 'sin and devotion, dedicating their youth to rapine, 'and their old age to repentance.' CHAP. VIII. Year after the apostles.

Concerning these Georgians and Mengrelians, [or Circassians,] I shall speak more particularly presently. But for the Armenians; both Brerewood in his inquiries[i], and Heylyn, as I quoted before, and all others, do agree that they constantly baptize infants. And if the reader need any larger satisfaction, he may have it from sir Paul Ricaut, who writes distinctly of them, not from remote report, but from the converse he had with them: for many of this people do frequent Smyrna, Constantinople, &c. He gives[k] a full account of their baptism of infants; and that 'they esteem it necessary, 'as being that which washes away original sin.' And also, that (as Heylyn and Brerewood had said) 'they administer to the child after it the holy 'eucharist, which they do only by rubbing the lips 'with it.'

The Maronites give baptism to infants with this particularity[l], that they baptize not a male child till he be forty days old, nor a female till eighty days: which is the time limited, Levit. xii. for the purification of the mother. Also they, as well as the Armenians, give the eucharist to infants presently after their baptism.

Of all these sorts of Christians the western part

[i] Cap. 24. [p. 173. in edit. 1614, and 1622.]

[k] Present State of the Armenian Church, cap. 8. [p. 432.]

[l] Heylyn, Cosmograph. Syria. [Book iii. p. 40. edit. 1676.]

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of the world has all along had some knowledge and account: but it is otherwise of those in India, called the Christians of St. Thomas, inhabiting about Cochin, Cranganor, and all that vast tract or promontory, lying between the coast of Malabar and the coast of Coromandel. These were utterly unknown, and not heard of by us of the West for a thousand
1400. years and more, viz. till about the year 1500, when those parts were discovered by the Portuguese. There were then estimated to be fifteen or sixteen thousand families of them, living among the heathens, to whom they were subject. They were found in the practice of infant-baptism; but they did not administer it till the child were forty days old, except in the case of danger of death. An account of the state of religion in which they were found, and of this among the rest, is given by Hieronymus Osorius 'de rebus gestis Emanuelis[m].' And
1600. of the methods by which they were, one hundred years after, brought over to a communion with the church of Rome, by Mr. Geddes[n], in his Account of the Synod of Diamper. The practice of these Indian Christians may convince our antipædobaptists of their mistake in thinking that infant-baptism began in the known parts of the world but of late years: for how then should it have been communicated to these men, who had never heard of such a part of the world as Europe?

In short, there can be no question made of the

[m] Lib. iii. prope finem. [H. Osorii de rebus gestis Emanuelis regis Lusitaniæ, libri sex. 8°. Colon. 1574. iterum 1576.]

[n] See 'The History of the Church of Malabar: together with 'the Synod of Diamper, celebrated A. D. 1599: by Michael 'Geddes.' 8vo. London, 1694.]

practice of any Christians in Asia as to this matter; unless it be of those I mentioned before, that inhabit the countries of Georgia and Mengrelia [or Circassia]. And therefore I will be a little more particular about them. CHAP. VIII. Year after the apostles.

Georgia was formerly called Iberia, and Mengrelia [or Circassia] was called Colchis. They bordered together, lying in the remote part of Asia, between the Euxine and Caspian sea; and are in religion much the same.

It is to be noted that these people were converted to the Christian faith in the time of Constantine, by the means of a Christian servant maid; much after the same manner as Naaman the Syrian was to the knowledge of God. The maid by prayer to Christ cured the queen of Iberia of a sickness: this and some other evidences converted the king; and he sent messengers to Constantine to desire some preachers to be sent to instruct the people, which was readily granted: and the nation became Christian. This is related by authors that lived about that time, such as Rufinus[o], Socrates[p], &c. 230.

And as they received the faith from that church under Constantine, so they are recorded in the succeeding times to have held communion with the same, viz. the Greek church. And how that church (as well before their division from the Latins, as since) managed in the matter of baptism, has been already shewn. In after-times the Saracens, and then the Turks, possessing those parts of Asia that lie between the Greeks and them, must needs break off the correspondence in great measure: and they 300. 340.

[o] Hist. Eccles. lib. x. cap. 11. [p] Ibid. lib. i. cap. 20.

es, as well as the Greeks, have been sinc
d by the Mahometans. Yet they have and
keep up some face of Christianity, though
great ignorance. And the generality of late
torians and geographers do still speak of them as
nformable to the Greek church, so far as they
ctise any Christian worship at all: as I shewed
en now that Heylyn in his last book does.

t sir Paul Ricaut, who was consul at Smyrna,
and travelled in some other parts of the Levant
bout the year 1677, heard the same report of them
hat Brerewood and Heylyn at first heard; Heylyn
of the Georgians, and Brerewood (as he distinguishes
them) of the Circassians. Sir Paul Ricaut's words
are these[q]:

'The Georgians, which in some manner depend
'on the Greek church, baptize not their children
'until they be eight years of age. They formerly
'did not admit them to baptism until fourteen: but
'by means of such preachers as the patriarch of
'Antioch sends amongst them yearly, they were
'taught how necessary it was to baptize infants;
'and how agreeable it was to the practice of the
'ancient church. But these being a people very
'tenacious of the doctrines they once received, could
'hardly be persuaded out of this error: till at
'length, being wearied with the importunate argu-
'ments of the Greeks, they consented as it were to
'a middle way, and so came down from fourteen to
'eight years of age; and cannot as yet be persuaded
'to a nearer compliance.'

When I read this first, I thought that we had at

[q] Present State of Greek Church, cap. 7. [page 169.]

last found a church of antipædobaptists (though a great way off), and that a national one, as far as it may be so called in a nation mostly Christians, though under Mahometan government. For the words, as they are placed, do intimate that this people keep off children from baptism by their principle; and that, as is represented, of a long standing. CHAP. VIII. Year after the apostles.

But as sir Paul Ricaut could have this only by report, and that from a country very remote from the places where he travelled, and very unfrequented: so it happened that sir John Chardin was actually[r] travelling in those countries of Georgia and Mengrelia about the same time: and also was acquainted there with a missionary, called F. Joseph Maria Zampi, who had lived there twenty-three years, who shewed him a manuscript account drawn up by himself, of the observations he had made concerning the religion of the Mengrelians and Georgians; which account, sir John says, was perfectly agreeable to all that he himself observed there. 1577.

Now sir John, and the said missionary both, do observe, that these people do indeed many of them put off the baptizing of their children for a great while: and that many of the people there are never baptized at all. But they speak of this, not as a principle or tenet of theirs, that so it ought to be done: but as proceeding from a wretched neglect

[r] Voyage into Persia, p. 86. [See Travels of Sir John Chardin into Persia and the East-Indies, through the Black Sea and the country of Colchis, folio, London, 1689, p. 77, &c. Dr. Wall appears to have used some other edition; and his quotations, though the same in sense, are not given in the exact words found in that above mentioned.]

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and stupid carelessness, which they shew in that and in all other points of the Christian religion. Christianity is there, as it seems, almost extinguished: and whoever reads the book, sees the most deplorable face of a church that is in the world. It may be necessary to recite some passages of the book, and of the manuscript there exhibited.

Sir John Chardin himself says[s], 'Their religion 'was, I believe, formerly the same with that of the 'Greeks.' But for the present state of it, says 'I could never discover any religion in any Mer 'grelian; having not found any that know what 'religion, or law, or sin, or a sacrament, or divine 'service is.'

The MS. says[t], 'This people have not the least 'idea of faith or religion. The most of them take 'eternal life, the universal judgment, the resurrec 'tion of the dead, for fables.' And a little after[u], 'God only knows the deplorable estate of these 'wretched priests, or the validity of their priest 'hood. For it is always uncertain whether they 'are baptized; and whether the bishops that have 'ordained them, have been consecrated or baptized 'themselves.'

And of their baptism, gives this account[x]:

'They anoint infants as soon as they are born 'on the forehead. The oil for this anointing is 'called *myrone*. The baptism is not administered 'till a long time after. No man baptizes his child 'till he has means [or unless he have ability, *s'il 'n'a moyen*] to make a feast at the christening

[s] Page 85. [93. edit. 1686.]
[t] Page 86. [94.]
[u] Page 89. [97.]
[x] Page 93. [101.]

'Hence it comes to pass that many infants die 'without receiving it. CHAP. VIII.

'When they administer it to any infant, they do 'not carry it to the church: but in a common room 'the priest, without putting on any priestly habit, 'sits him down, and reads a long time in a book. 'After a long reading, the godfather undresses the 'infant, and washes him all over with water: and 'then rubs him over with the *myrone* which the 'priest gives him. This done, they clothe the 'infant again, and give him something to eat,' &c. Year after the apostles.

'There is not one priest among them that under-'stands the *form of baptism*: so that there is no 'question but their baptism is utterly invalid. On 'this regard the fathers Theatins baptize as many 'infants as they can. They give them baptism under 'pretence of applying some medicine to them,' &c.

Sir John himself, at another place in his book, tells how the Romish priests that are there, do this. A priest that is called to see a sick child, calls for a bason of water, as it were to wash his hands: then before his hands be dry, he touches the forehead of the child with a wet finger, as if he observed something concerning his distemper: or by shaking his hand causes some drops of water to fly in the face of a child that stands by, as it were in sport; saying the form of baptism either mentally, or with a muttering voice. One would think this as defective a sort of baptizing as that of the ignorant native priests.

Sir John was invited to two christenings there. He went, that he might see the fashion of it. He gives an account of one of them[y]. It was much

[y] Page 140. [p. 154.]

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Year about the operation.

after the manner related in the manuscript. The priest read, but talked at the same time to those that came in and out. The people went irreverently to and fro in the room; and so did the boy that was to be baptized, chewing a piece of pig the while. 'He was,' he says, 'a little boy of five years old.'

It is to be noted that the manuscript gives this as the common account of the rites both of the Mengrelians and Georgians. And so sir John himself, when he comes to the Georgians, has only this of their religion. 'The belief of the Georgians 'is much the same with that of the Mengrelians. 'The one and the other received it at the same 'time; viz. in the fourth century: and by the 'same means, of a woman of Iberia that had been 'a Christian at Constantinople. In a word, the 'one as well as the other have lost all the spirit of 'Christianity: and what I said of the Mengrelians '(that they have nothing of Christianity but the 'name, and that they neither observe nor hardly 'know any precept of the law of Jesus Christ) is 'no less true of the people of Georgia[1].'

This state of the matter, as it is different from what sir Paul Ricaut gives (for this people do baptize infants when they think of it, and when they have got their good cheer ready,) so it might give occasion to the report which he, and Heylyn formerly, had heard. For it is probable the patriarch of Antioch might send to them to be more diligent in baptizing their infants. But the arguments that this people needed to persuade them to it, were not such as are used to antipædobaptists, but such as

[1] Page 226. [p. 192.]

we should use to Christians that are falling back into heathenism, or total irreligion. CHAP. VIII.

III. In Africa there are but two sorts of Christians: the Cophti of Ægypt, who are the remains of the old Christian church there; and the Abassens. Both of these baptize their infants, as is clear by accounts given of them by all historians and travellers. Brerewood[a], Heylyn[b], and others, speak of their particular observations about it. The Cophti baptize none till he be forty days old, though he die in the interim. The Abassens (as we said before of the Maronites in Asia) baptize the male children at forty days, and the female at eighty days, after their circumcision; for they circumcise their children of both sexes. But these last do in the case of peril of death baptize sooner. They do both give the eucharist to infants after baptism. Year after the apostles.

But here also a mistake in a late book of travels needs to be rectified. Mr. Thevenot tells in his account of Ægypt[c], that while he was at Grand Cairo, he had some conference with an ambassador that was there from the Abassens' country, about the religion and other affairs of those parts. This ambassador told him, that the Abassens circumcise their children 'at eight days old, as the Jews; and 'fifteen days after, baptize them. Before that the 'Jesuits came thither, they did not baptize them till 'thirty or forty *years*.'

Whoever reads what all other historians say of this people, viz. that they baptized forty days after circumcision, will easily observe that Monsieur Thevenot

[a] Inquiries, ch. 22, 23.

[b] Cosmographia, Ægypt. and Æthiopia Superior.

[c] Travels, tom. i. part 2. ch. 69. [p. 238. edit. fol. London, 1687.]

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has here mistaken in the last word of the sentence, years for days. Either he misheard the ambassador, or else mistook in setting it down: or else the French printer mistook it, for it is so in the French [d], as well as in the translation of the book into English. There are a great many of those eastern Christians that put off the baptism forty *days:* but if any had delayed baptism till forty *years*, (to which age half of mankind does never arrive,) we should have heard more of it than from that hour's conference.

IV. This is the account of the practice of the national churches. But though there be no national church but what baptizes infants; yet there are, and have been for about one hundred and eighty years last past, in several countries of Europe, considerable numbers of men, that differ from the established churches in this point. The history of their beginning and progress in Germany is so well known, and so much talked of, that I shall say the less of it. It is in short this:

No sooner had the reformation begun by Luther,
1517. anno 1517, taken good footing in Saxony, and some other parts of Germany, great numbers of people and some princes (who were at this time generally weary of the abuses and corruptions of popery, and longed for a reformation) greedily embracing it, but
1522. that within five or six years there arose a sort of men that pretended to refine upon him. One Nicolas Storck, and Thomas Munzer, seconded within a while by one Baltazar Hobmeier, preached that the baptism of infants was also an abuse that must be reformed; and they baptized over again such as

[d] [Printed in four volumes folio, at Paris, 1683.]

became their disciples. They added also other things; that it was not fit, nor to be endured in the kingdom of Jesus Christ, that some should be so rich, and others so poor; or that the boors should be held to such burdensome services by their landlords. Abundance of people flocked to them. And the more, for that there had been before discontents, and some insurrections, and of those poorer sort of people, because of their foresaid hardships.

There was this difference between Luther's method and theirs; that he and his partners preached up obedience to all lawful magistrates in temporal things; but they carried things with a higher hand, in defiance of magistracy; and Munzer called himself *The sword of the Lord, and of Gideon*[e].

Luther and the protestants entered their protestation against their proceedings, as bringing a scandal on the new-begun reformation; but they went on, and after some time (great numbers of disorderly people joining with them) became masterless, made a sort of army, committed great ravages on the estates of rich men, where they marched. And at last, anno 1534, a strong party of this sort of men coming mostly from Holland, seized on the city of Munster, where one John Becold, called John of Leyden, being advanced to be their king, they pretended to prophecy and revelation; and did under the name of Christ's kingdom practise several tyrannies and enormities, as polygamy, plundering, &c.

1525.

1534.

Some regular forces being brought against them, they were subdued: and the king and some of the heads of them being put to death, the rest were dispersed into several parts of Germany; and a great

[e] Judges vii. 18.

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many of them fled into the Low Countries, where there were already great numbers of them.

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The antipædobaptists, that are now, do not love to hear of these men, nor do own them as predecessors; neither is there any reason that their miscarriages should be imputed to them, provided that they renounce and keep themselves from all such seditious practices: especially since many of the people professing that opinion did a little after separate themselves from the tumultuous rabble, and made a declaration of better principles under better leaders, as I shall shew by and by. Almost all alterations in religion, either for better or worse, have at the beginning some disorders. It is happy where magistrates, pastors, and people, do all at one time agree and conspire in any reformation that is thought necessary: but it is seldom known.

That which is more material to the history of infant-baptism, is to inquire whether this Storck, Munzer, Hobmeier, &c., did at that time, viz. anno
1522. 1522. set up this tenet as a thing then new or newly revived; or whether it had been continued and handed down by some dispersed people, from the
1050. times of the Petrobrusians (of whom I spoke in the last chapter, §. 5.) to this time. Danvers says [f], that 'the present Belgic anabaptists do with one mouth 'assert and maintain the latter.' The chief reason he brings either of his own or of theirs is, because it appears that there were great numbers of them in several parts of Germany in Luther's time; and that he and others of the first protestants had disputations
1522. with them in Saxony, Thuringia, Switzerland, &c.,
1525
1529. 'whereby it is evident that they had a being in

[f] Treatise, part ii. chap. 7. pag. 257. edit. 2. 1674.

'those parts before Luther's time; for it cannot 'rationally be supposed that they should all of a 'sudden be spread over so great a territory as the 'Upper Germany.' CHAP. VIII. Year after the apostles.

But of the sudden increase both of the protestants and of these men, I gave some account before. He brings also some authorities. But they are out of books of no credit for any thing before their own time: Dutch Martyrology, Frank, Twisk, Merning, &c. If there were any continuation of the doctrine for the said two or three hundred years, it must have been very obscure, and by a very few men, because there is in all that interval no mention of them in any good author. The only authority that I remember to have read after 1260, and before 1522, 1160. 1422. which may seem to make any thing to the purpose of antipædobaptism, is a letter written to Erasmus out of Bohemia by one Joannes Slechta Costelecius, dated October 10th, 1519; a part whereof is 1419. published by Colomesius in his Collection of Letters of Men of Note, Epistle 30[s]. This letter, as it is dated three years before Storck and the rest are said to have begun, so it speaks of a sect that had been then in being in that country for some time. I will recite that part of the letter entire, because, though it be not all to this purpose, yet it is all worth the reading, that we may see what schemes of doctrine were abroad in the world a little before Luther began to oppose the church of Rome.

'The third sect is of those whom they call 'Pyghards: they have their name from a certain 'refugee of the same nation, who came hither ninety-

[s] [This Collection is subjoined to an edition of *Clemens Romanus*, published by Colomesius, 12°. London, 1687.]

ars ago, when that wicked and sacrilegious
:ka declared a defiance of the churchmen
ll the clergy.' (This was 1420.)

'ese men have no other opinion of the pope, ardinals, bishops, and other clergy, than as of nifest Antichrists: they call the pope sometimes *e beast*, and sometimes *the whore*, mentioned in he Revelations. Their own bishops and priests they themselves do choose for themselves, ignorant and unlearned laymen that have wives and children. They mutually salute one another by the name of brother and sister.

'They own no other authority than the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament. They slight all the doctors both ancient and modern, and give no regard to their doctrine.

'Their priests, when they celebrate the offices of the mass, [or communion,] do it without any priestly garments: nor do they use any prayer or collects on this occasion, but only the Lord's Prayer; by which they consecrate bread that has been leavened.

'They believe or own little or nothing of the sacraments of the church. Such as come over to their sect must every one be *baptized anew* in mere water. They make no blessing of salt nor of the water; nor make any use of consecrated oil.

'They believe nothing of divinity in the sacrament of the Eucharist; only that the consecrated bread and wine do by some occult signs represent the death of Christ: and accordingly, that all that do kneel down to it or worship it, are guilty of idolatry. That that sacrament was instituted by Christ to no other purpose but to renew the

'memory of his passion, and not to be carried 'about or held up by the priest to be gazed on. 'For that Christ himself, who is to be adored and 'worshipped with the honour of *latria*, sits at 'the right hand of God, as the Christian church 'confesses in the Creed. CHAP. VIII. Year after the apostles.

'Prayers of the saints and for the dead they 'count a vain and ridiculous thing: as likewise au- 'ricular confession, and penance enjoined by the 'priest for sins. Eves and fast days are, they say, 'a mockery, and the disguise of hypocrites.

'They say, the holydays of the Virgin Mary, and 'the apostles and other saints, are the invention of 'idle people. But yet they keep the Lord's day, 'and Christmas, and Easter, and Whitsuntide,' &c. He says there were great numbers of this sect then in Bohemia. 1419.

Where it is here said that they rebaptized, it is not certain whether they did it as judging baptism in infancy invalid, or as judging all baptism received in the corrupt way of the church of Rome to be so. The coherence of the words seems to incline to the latter. And Ottius, Hist. Anabapt.[b] anno 1521, affirms the latter to be true.

There is, I think, no doubt but these Pyghards were the same that Æneas Sylvius gives an account of in his Historia Bohemica[i] written sixty years before, and calls Picards. He in that history says nothing of their denying infants' baptism, as I ob-

[b] [Jo. H. Ottii Annales Anabaptistici, 4to. Basileæ, 1672.]

[i] [This piece is found in the collections entitled, 'Historiæ 'Bohemicæ Scriptores,' published by Dubravius, by Freherus, &c. also in vol. i. of the 'Waldensia' of B. Lydius, 12°. 1616.]

as in the last chapter §. 6. Baltazar Lydius[k], Burigenus do both of them recite the confession of these men, offered by themselves to king Wislaus, in which they expressly own it. John Huss, whose doctrine these men followed, is never said to have denied it: only he is accused to have assented to that opinion of Wickliffe[l], that a child without misses of baptism may possibly be saved.

These Pyghards do in their confessions say, that they are falsely called Waldenses. I am apt to think they had this name of Picards, or Pyghards, from the old Beghards, which was one of the sects that we do now comprehend under the name Waldenses, though the Waldenses, so called by Pilichdorf, did, as he says[m], abominate the Beghards. One of the authors in Gretzer's[n] collection of writers against the Waldenses, called *Conradus de monte puellarum*, says, that this sect was then rife in all Germany, and that 'the men of it were called 'Beghards, and the women Begines:' but has nothing about their baptism. And I have heard that there are now popish monasteries in Flanders of men called Beghards, and women Beguines. I know

[k] [See the collection entitled, 'Waldensia, id est Conservatio 'veræ Ecclesiæ demonstrata ex confessionibus, cum Taboritarum 'ante CC. fere annos, tum Bohemorum, circa tempora Refor- 'mationis scriptis. Studio et opera Balthasaris Lydii, Eccle- 'siastæ apud Durdrechtanos.' 2. tom. 12°. Roterodami et Dordraci, 1616 et 1617. In the first volume occurs the Confession alluded to in the text; and likewise a Defence of it, translated out of Bohemian by Burigenus, Doctor de Kornis. See the second part of that volume, page 1, &c. and again, p. 92, &c.]

[l] Foxe Martyrology, John Huss, 1415.

[m] See ch. vii. §. 7.

[n] [See above, chap. vii. p. 244.]

not what signification that name may have in any language, that can make it applicable to such different constitutions (for the old Beghards did, as all the rest whom we call Waldenses, abominate the church of Rome), unless it signify the same as our English word *beggar:* and so they should have their name from their poverty, as some sorts both of the friars and also of the Waldenses had. The council of Vienna under Clement V. condemns a sort of people then in Germany, the men called Beghards, the women Begines, as holding certain distracted opinions there recited, much the same as the wildest of our Quakers and enthusiasts. The council says nothing of their denying infant-baptism, but yet they pass a decree in confirmation of it.

I said that the antipædobaptists, dispersed from Munster, fled some into several principalities of the Upper Germany, and some into the Low Countries. They that continued in Germany found but cold entertainment; partly because of their new doctrines, and partly because of the disorders they had committed during that short time of their reign. The papists generally reproached the protestants, that they were a sect sprung from them, and would call all protestants, in scorn, anabaptists; but the protestants disowned them, and wrote against them. And Sleidan gives several instances wherein the protestant princes and states declared against harbouring them; and made answer to the reproaches of the papists, that they took more care to rid their countries of them, than they themselves did. And there are said to be very few of them now in either

CHAP. VIII.

the popish or the protestant countries of the Upper Germany.

Year after the apostles.

Those of them that retired into the Belgic provinces, found there more partisans than any where else. At Amsterdam particularly they were near acting the same tragedy they had done at Munster. One John Geles, sent out of Munster by John of Leyden to get supplies of men, and to stir up other cities, had formed a design to surprise Amsterdam, May 12th, 1535. Which, by his numbers in the town, and some from other places, he was like to have effected. But they were defeated and killed. Also one John Matthew set up for a chief, and chose to himself twelve apostles; and found a great many disciples to his doctrine. They prophesied that the end of the world would be within a year: and filled people's heads with many other enthusiastical notions. Being suppressed by the magistrates, and some of them put to death, they are said to have endured it with great constancy.

1436. Cassander mentions also[o] one John Batenburg, who after the ceasing of the sedition of Munster began another. There were several other disturbances of less moment, which I pass by.

But Cassander and all agree, that a little while after this, one Menno, a countryman of Friezeland, a man of a sober and quiet temper, that held the doctrine of antipædobaptism, did disclaim and protest against the seditious doctrines and practices of those at Munster, and of Batenburg: and taught

[o] Præfat. ad Ducem Cliviæ. [prefixed to Cassander's treatise 'Testimonia de Baptismo Infantium,' page 672 of his works, fol. Paris, 1616.]

CHAP. VIII.

that *the kingdom of Jesus Christ*, which they had pretended to set up by external force, consisted in patience, meekness, and suffering quietly, if occasion should be. That one Theodoric succeeded this Menno in the same doctrine. And Cassander says, that in his time, which was about 140 years ago, 'almost all that continued the profession of that 'opinion in the Belgic provinces, were followers of 'this Menno.' And so to this day they generally call themselves Mennonists, or, by abbreviation, Minnists.

Year after the apostles. 1460.

He gives them this character: 'Most of them do 'shew signs of a pious disposition; and it seems to 'be rather by mistake, than by any wilful wickedness, that they, carried by an unskilful zeal, have 'departed from the true sense of the Scripture, 'and the uniform agreement of the whole church.' And says, 'that they seem worthy rather of pity 'and due information, than of persecution, or being 'undone.'

One thing he says[p] of this Menno, that is particular, viz. 'That whereas the credit of antiquity 'and perpetual tradition carries great authority with 'it, even with those that set up new doctrines,' &c.——And accordingly 'some of these men had 'first endeavoured to fix the origin of infant-baptism upon some pope of Rome: Menno had more 'sense [or was more wary, *prudentior*] than so. 'He was forced to own that it had been in use from 'the apostles' time. But he said that the false 'apostles were the authors of it.'

Cassander does there confute this notion with so

[p] Præfat. ad Testimonia contra Anabaptistas, [being a second preface to the beforenamed treatise, p. 675. ibid.]

sons, that I wonder he should call it a more
than the other. For as it had been indeed
ary thing in Menno to deny that the bap-
of infants was in use in the ages next the
stles; when he might, for ought he knew, be
nvicted of falsehood by the remaining acts and
rds of those times: so to maintain that all the
oks that were preserved by the church, were such
were written by the followers of the false apo-
stles, and none by the followers of the true, is an
imagination rather more absurd than the other.

ere were false apostles indeed, but they set themselves to slander, and speak, and write against he true ones, as appears by what St. Paul and John do say of them. But the books and writings which the church has preserved, are of such as do own the authority of the apostles.

As for the present state of the Minnists, a late writer of those parts, an extract of whose book is given by Mr. Boval[q], says, 'Except Holland, where 'they live peaceably, they are almost extinct.' By Holland, I suppose he means the united provinces.

In those provinces there are considerable numbers of them, especially in Holland and Friezeland. They have the repute of being very fair traders, and very sober men. They use a plainness in their garb to some degree of affectation, as the Quakers in England do. And they hold opinions something like theirs, against the lawfulness of oaths, of war, &c.

The other tenets attributed to them are[r]; That

[q] History of the works of the learned, July 1699.

[r] Stoup. Religion of the Hollanders. [See 'La Religion des 'Hollandois,' 12mo. 1673. lettre 3. p. 49, 50, 51.]

there is no original sin. That only the New Testament is a rule of faith. That Christ had his flesh, not of the Virgin Mary, but from heaven. That it is possible to live without sin in this life. That departed souls sleep till the resurrection, &c. CHAP. VIII. Year after the apostles.

But some that have lived in that country say, that all these opinions are not common to them all: but that some churches of them hold some of these opinions, and other churches others of them. For their general humour is to divide into several churches on the least difference of opinions. Those of the old Flemish way keep a very strict discipline, and excommunicate people on very nice occasions: the Friezelanders receive all. Some of them allow of no baptism but by immersion, or putting the baptized person into the water; but the most part of them admit of baptism by affusion of water. In short, every congregation of them almost does espouse some particular tenets, only they do all of them renounce infant-baptism.

One cannot impute this, as any peculiar fault or folly, to the Minnists, that they are apt to divide and separate from one another on any small differences of opinion. It is a humour too general, and prevailing among many other people of that country, (as well as of ours,) to think that they ought to separate from all that hold any thing in religion different from what they themselves hold. Whereas the great aim and interest of religion is unity and communion in the worship of God, notwithstanding different sentiments in points not fundamental; and schisms and parties are forbidden, as courses that will certainly ruin it: there is no sin that such people think to be a less sin than schism is. The

do upbraid the protestants in general with
umour; as if it were the natural principle,
e millstone on the neck of protestantism. It
true, that the protestant religion and interest
s been much impaired by it in many countries;
re it has grown and increased, in spite of the
t endeavours of the ministers in shewing and
laring to the people the sinfulness of it. About
ch the papists, of all men, should make no noise,
cause they are the only men that get ground by
they, and some few designing persons, who pro-
se an interest by heading of parties. But they
not say that this is true of *all*. There are some
otestant countries so happy, as to keep their
ople in great union and uniformity.

But some of the Minnists do differ from the rest,
d from all catholic Christians, in points more
aterial, and such as are indeed inconsistent with

1558. communion. For about the year 1658, the Socinians, that were grown to a considerable number in Poland, were expelled thence. Many of them sought a refuge in these parts. They had most of them added the opinion of antipædobaptism to what Socinus had taught them against our Saviour's divinity: and the common name by which they had in Poland been called, was anabaptists. So when they came to Holland, they essayed mostly to strike in with the Minnists; and they have since brought over many of them to their opinion concerning the nature of Christ. One sort of the Minnists, called collegians, are generally Socinians, believing in nothing but the human nature of Jesus Christ, and holding it unlawful to pray to him; wherein they surpass the impiety of Socinus himself. These hold

a general assembly twice a year at Rhinsburg: where it is said they observe this order, that he that comes first distributes the communion to all the assistants: for they have no regard to the ordination of ministers. CHAP. VIII. Year after the apostles.

Others of the Minnists are Arians: of which opinion one Galenus[s], now living in Amsterdam, is said to be the chief patron. And so these are by some called Galenists.

And generally speaking, the Minnists, though they do not all profess these opinions derogatory to our Saviour's divinity, yet do refuse the use of the words Trinity, Person, &c., and such other words concerning the nature of God, as are not in Scripture, but are used by the church to express the sense thereof.

The first Socinians that were in Holland (for there were some few before the year I spoke of) had, as Socinus himself had, but a slender opinion of infants' baptism: yet did not absolutely refuse it. For at the synod of Dort, anno 1618, 'was read the 1618. 'confession of the two brothers, John and Peter 'Geysteran, Remonstrant ministers: and was re-'jected by all with detestation. For it appeared 'that they, under the name of Remonstrants, and 'under pretence of the five articles, did maintain the 'horrid and execrable blasphemies of Socinus and the 'anabaptists.' So say the acts[t] of the synod. But all that their confession says of baptism, is; 'That 'infants are baptized, not by any positive command 'of God, but to avoid scandal.' And that 'they

[s] [Galenus Abrahamides de Haan.]

[t] Acta Synodi Dordrac. Sess. 138.

e baptism of the adult more than that of

England there were now and then some
n found of the antipædobaptist opinion
r since the time that it had taken footing in
lland: but none of the English nation are known
have embraced it in a long time after. Danvers
ed would find some of this opinion in England
even before those of Munster. He would persuade[u]
that the Lollards held it. But they held nothing
but what I mentioned before, ch. vi. §. 7, that
infants dying unbaptized may yet be saved, as I
shewed then, and appears more fully by Foxe[v].

133. In the year 1533, 25th of Henry VIII. John
ith (who was martyred that year) wrote a short
tract, which he calls a Declaration of Baptism: (it
is published with his other works, London 1573[z]:)
in it he takes notice of the antipædobaptist opinion,
as then lately risen in the world, (it was about
eleven years standing in Germany, and was but
lately got into Holland, for this was a year before
the outrage and dispersion at Munster). What he
says of it is this[y], 'Now is there an opinion risen
'among certain, which affirm that children may not
'be baptized until they come unto a perfect age;
'and that because they have no faith. But verily
'methinketh that they are far from the meekness of
'Christ and his Spirit; which, when children were

[u] Treatise, part ii. ch. 7. pag. 303, 304.

[v] In Henry VI. page 608. [p. 661, edit. 1583; p. 868, edit. 1641; p. 752, edit. 1684.]

[z] [Published with those of Tyndal and Barnes. See part ii. ch. 90.]

[y] [At page 93.]

'brought unto him, received them lovingly,' &c. And after a short discourse, he breaks off from that point thus: 'But this matter will I pass over; for 'I trust the English (unto whom I write this) have 'no such opinions.' And that the English Lollards had been all along free from any such opinion, is evident from a very ancient tract of theirs, which they presented to the parliament, which is recited by one Roger Dinmock, who writes an answer to it, and dedicates that answer to king Richard II, which must be about or before the year 1390. This tract is brought to light from some ancient manuscripts at Cambridge, by the learned Dr. Allix, at the end of his Remarks on the History of the Churches of the Albigenses[z]. In it the Lollards, complaining of popish abuses, reckon this for one; the forbidding of marriage, and keeping men from women; from whence did follow effects worse than those of fornication itself committed with women. For, they say, though 'slaying of children ere they 'be christened, be full sinful; yet sodomy was worse.'

CHAP. VIII.

Year after the apostles.

The convocation, anno 1536, do take notice of the antipædobaptists' opinions, of which they must have heard from Holland and Germany, (the Munster business having been two years before,) and do pass some decrees against them. The rather, because some people in England began to speak very irreverently and mockingly about some of the ceremonies of baptism then in use. 1436.

The lower house of Convocation sent to the upper house a protestation, containing a catalogue of some errors and some profane sayings that began to be handed about among some people; craving the

[z] [Chapter xxii. p. 205, edit. 1692.]

rence of the upper house in condemning
n. Some of them are these[z]:

'That it is as lawful to christen a child in a
'tub of water at home, or in a ditch by the
'way, as in a font-stone in the church.'

I think it may probably be concluded from their
pressions, that the ordinary way of baptizing at
s time in England, whether in the church or out
of it, was by putting the child into the water.

18. 'That the water in the font-stone is alonely
'[only] a thing conjured.

19. 'That the hallowed oil is no better than the
'bishop of Rome's grease or butter.

63. 'That the holy water is more savoury to
'make sauce with than the other [water], be-
'cause it is mixed with salt; which is also a
'very good medicine for a horse with a galled
'back: yea, if there be put an onion thereunto,
'it is a good sauce for a gibbet of mutton.'

But there is none of all these foolish sayings that reflects any thing on infant-baptism. Yet the king
1436. and convocation (apprehensive, I suppose, of what might be) setting forth several articles about religion, to be diligently preached for keeping people steady in it, have these about baptism.

1. 'That the sacrament of baptism was instituted
'and ordained in the New Testament by our
'Saviour Jesus Christ, as a thing necessary for
'the attaining of everlasting life: according to
'the saying of Christ: *Nisi quis renatus fue-*
'rit, &c. *Unless one be born of water*, &c.

2. 'That it is offered unto all men, as well

[z] Fuller's Church History, book v. sect. 3. [p. 209, 211.]

'infants, as such as have the use of reason, that 'by baptism they shall have remission of sins,' &c.

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3. 'That the promise of grace and everlasting 'life, which promise is adjoined to the sacra- 'ment of baptism, pertaineth not only to such 'as have the use of reason, but also to infants,' &c. ——— 'they are made thereby the very 'sons and children of God. Insomuch as chil- 'dren dying in their infancy shall undoubtedly 'be saved thereby: otherwise not.

4. 'Infants must needs be christened, because they 'be born in original sin; which sin must needs 'be remitted: which cannot be done but by 'the grace of baptism, whereby they receive 'the Holy Ghost, which exercises his grace and 'efficacy in them, and cleanses and purifies 'them from sin by his most secret virtue and 'operation.

6. 'That they ought to repute and take all 'the anabaptists' and Pelagians' opinions con- 'trary to the premises, and every other man's 'opinion agreeable unto the said anabaptists' 'and Pelagian's opinions in this behalf, for de- 'testable heresies, and utterly to be condemned.'

These precautions shew, if there were at this time in England no doctrines held by any against infant-baptism, yet that they feared lest such should be brought over hither. And two years after, anno 1538. Fuller[a] recites out of Stowe, that 'four ana- 1538. 'baptists, three men and one woman, all Dutch, 'bare fagots at Paul's Cross:' and that 'three days 'after, a man and woman of their sect was burnt in

[a] Fuller's Church History, book v. sect. 4. [p. 229.]

And says, 'This year the name of t appears in our English chronicles.' e had spoke of some two or three years For taking notice of the influence that e Boleyne had over Henry VIII. he ob- t during her time 'we read of no great tion, nor any abjuration to have been in the urch of England: save only that the registers of ondon make mention of certain Dutchmen, count- ed for anabaptists; of whom ten were put to death in sundry places of the realm, anno 1535, other ten repented and were saved.' This must have been the year before the said convocation.

The bishop of Salisbury, History of the Reforma- n, part i. book 3. p. 195[c], mentions these men, but not under the name of anabaptists. He says, t in May this year (1535) nineteen Hollanders were accused of some heretical opinions: 'Denying 'Christ to be both God and man; or that he took 'flesh and blood of the Virgin Mary; or that the 'sacraments had any effect on those that received 'them: in which opinions fourteen of them re- 'mained obstinate and were burnt by pairs in 'several places.' Here is nothing peculiarly about infants' baptism. But the circumstance of time, May 1535, leads one to think that they were some of them that were to have made a part in the insurrection at Amsterdam. For the author of an English pamphlet[d], written 1647, called A short

[b] Martyrology, p. 956. ed. 2. [vol. ii. p. 325, edit. 1641.]

[c] [Edit. fol. Lond. 1679.]

[d] [See 'A short History of the Anabaptists of High and Low Germany,' 4to. London, 1642, [not 1647 as stated by Wall,] pages 48 and 55.]

History of the Anabaptists, (who has made a good collection out of Sleidan, Hortentius, &c.) says, that many Dutchmen from several parts, who had been appointed to assist John Geles in the surprise of Amsterdam beforementioned, hearing the ill success, fled into England in two ships. Now this insurrection was on this very month. And that author reckons those two ship-loads to be the first seminary of Dutch antipædobaptists in England. But however that was, there were no English among them. CHAP. VIII. Year after the apostles.

But although during this king's reign (and for a good while after, as we shall see) there were no Englishmen that held any opinion against infant-baptism; yet, as I said, that in Germany the papists upbraided the protestants with the name of anabaptists, so it was done here also in the latter times of this reign. For this king Henry VIII, in a speech made at the proroguing of the parliament, Dec. 24, 1545, (recited by the Lord Herbert[e] at that year,) complaining of the great discord among his subjects, and of the reproachful names they gave one to another, says; 'What love and charity is amongst 'you, when one calleth another heretic and ana-'baptist; and he calleth him again papist, hypocrite, 'and pharisee?'

In king Edward's time: in the third year of his reign, Heylyn says[f]; 'At the same time the ana-'baptists, who had kept themselves unto themselves 'in the late king's time, began to look abroad, and 1449

[e] [See The Life and Reign of King Henry the Eighth, by Edward Lord Herbert of Cherbury, folio, London, 1649, p. 535, 536.]

[f] History of the Reformation, p. 73. [of the third edition. fol. London, 1674.]

disperse their dotages; for the preventing of which 'mischief, before it grew unto a head, some of the 'chiefs of them were convented,' &c. He does not say whether these were Dutch or English. And at the same year 1549, Ottius, in his Annales Anabaptist. recites a letter from Hooper to Bullinger, wherein he complains that England was troubled with a sort of anabaptists; but reciting their tenets, he mentions nothing of infant-baptism, nor does he say whether they were English or foreigners.

In queen Mary's time, Philpot had, a little before his martyrdom, an occasion to write a letter[c] to a fellow-prisoner of his, to satisfy him in some doubts that he had concerning the lawfulness of infant-baptism. This shews that the question was then ventilated in England. Philpot, besides the arguments from Scripture, brings some of the quotations from antiquity that I have produced; and concludes; 'The verity of antiquity is on our side; and the 'anabaptists have nothing but lies for them, and 'new imaginations; which feign the baptism of 'children to be the pope's commandment.'

But this good man grants a great deal more of the question in point of antiquity than he should have done, when he says in his letter, 'Auxentius, 'one of the Arian sect, with his adherents, was one 'of the first that denied the baptism of children; 'and next after him Pelagius the heretic. And 'some other there were in St. Bernard's time, as it 'doth appear by his writings. And in our days baptists,' &c.

[c] ...nd of his mistake concerning the Arians, ...ol. page 1670. edit. 2. [vol. iii. p. 606, 607.

that they should be against infants' baptism, is, that the Arians are by some old writers called anabaptists; but that was because they rebaptized all that had been baptized by the catholics, in infancy or at age; not that they disliked infants' baptism: as I shewed before[h]. And the particular mistake concerning Auxentius must have been caused by those words of St. Ambrose in his oration against Auxentius[i]; 'why then does Auxentius say, that 'the faithful people, who had been baptized in the 'name of the Trinity, must be baptized again?' Where any one that will read the place will see that Auxentius' reason for saying so, was not any difference that the two parties had about infants' baptism, but the different faith they had about the Trinity, in whose name baptism was given. CHAP. VIII. Year after the apostles.

Pelagius denied original sin: from whence Philpot, by too visible a mistake, concluded he had denied infants' baptism.

In the beginning of queen Elizabeth's reign, as there were no English antipædobaptists, so there were very few left in Holland; till after the revolt of those provinces from Spain they increased again. 1465.

For bishop Jewel, in his Defence of his Apology, written about the seventh year of this queen, being twitted by Harding with the anabaptists; 'Are not 'these your brethren?' and Harding having said that the Roman Catholic countries were cleared of them, (among which he expressly there reckons Base Almaign, i. e. the Dutch Low Countries,) Jewel replies to him; 'They find harbour amongst you in

[h] Ch. iv. §. 3.

[i] [§. 37. tom. ii. p. 874. of the Benedictine edition of St. Ambrose' works.]

CHAP. VIII.

Year after the epocha.

'Austria, Silesia, Moravia, and such other countries 'where the gospel of Christ is suppressed: but they 'have no acquaintance with us, neither in England 'nor in Germany, nor in France, nor in Scotland, 'nor in Denmark, nor in Sweden, nor in any place 'else where the gospel of Christ is clearly preached[k].'

1465. From whence we may gather, that this sort of people were at this time (which was about forty years after their rise) almost totally suppressed in all these parts of the world.

1472. But yet about the sixteenth year of queen Elizabeth, a congregation of Dutch antipaedobaptists was discovered without Aldgate in London; whereof twenty-seven were taken and imprisoned. And the next month one Dutchman and ten women were condemned. One woman recanted; eight were banished; two were burnt in Smithfield, as Fuller[l] out of Stowe relates. Their tenets are recited these; 'Infants not to be baptized. Christians not to use 'the sword. All oaths unlawful. Christ took not 'flesh of the Virgin Mary.' This agrees in every point with the account given before of the doctrine of the Minnists. These were the first that that queen ever caused to be burnt for any opinion in religion.

Foxe, that wrote the Book of Martyrs, was then living: and he ventured to intercede with the queen for the life of those two, but could not prevail; she shewing such a sense of the necessity of suppressing any new sect by severity at the beginning. In his letter to her there are these words: 'As for their 'errors indeed, no man of sense can deny that they

[k] [See The Defence of the Apology, part i. chapter 4. division 3. page 25, 26, of Jewel's Works, fol. London, 1609.]

[l] Church History, 9th book, sect. 3. [p. 124.]

'are most absurd; and I wonder that such mon- CHAP. VIII.
'strous opinions could come into the mind of any
'Christian. But such is the state of human weak- Year after the apostles.
'ness; if we are left never so little a while destitute
'of the Divine light, whither is it that we do not
'fall! And there is great reason to give God
'thanks on this account, that I hear not of any
'Englishman that is inclined to that madness,' &c.
He entreats the queen that these two may be banished as the rest were; or otherwise punished. 'But to roast alive the bodies of poor wretches, 'that offend rather by blindness of judgment than 'perverseness of will, in fire and flames raging with 'pitch and brimstone, is a hardhearted thing, and 'more agreeable to the practice of the Romanists, 'than the custom of the Evangelics[m].'

From his words Fuller concludes, that this opinion had not then taken any footing among the English: for Foxe was likely to know if it had.

VI. At what time it began to be embraced by any English I do not find it easy to discover. But it is plain that no very considerable number in England were of this persuasion till about sixty 1541.
years ago. The first book (except some books taken in a Jesuit's trunk, which he had brought over on purpose to spread this opinion, which I must mention by and by, but except them the first) that ever I heard of, that was set forth in English, upholding this tenet, was a Dutch book, called A plain and well grounded Treatise concerning Baptism. This was translated and printed in English anno 1618, 1518.
the sixteenth year of James the First. But neither

[m] Ibid. [Fuller gives the letter, which is in Latin, from Foxe's own handwriting.]

ing's reign, nor in that of his son king
the First, till toward the latter end of it,
we any account of any considerable number
e of this way, very little mention of them,
it question, in any English books.

I atly, who wrote in 1645, says in his pre-
e; ' is fire in the reigns of queen Elizabeth,
g James, and our gracious sovereign, till now,
was covered in England under the ashes; or if it
' broke out at any time, by the care of the eccle-
' siastical and civil magistrates it was soon put out.
' But of late, since the unhappy distractions,——
' this sect hath rebaptized hundreds of men and
' women together in the twilight, in rivulets, and
' some arms of the Thames,' &c. And in his letter
to Mr. Downham, (prefixed to the above-named
work,) mentioning the great increase of monstrous
sects and heresies at that time, especially of papists
and anabaptists, he says, 'They boast of their great
' draught of fish; the papists of twenty thousand
' proselytes, the anabaptists of forty-seven churches[n].'
Upon which view of sects arising in such times, he
does in another place of his book set forth the mis-
chiefs of a general toleration in any state: which
observation of the doctor's, made upon the first
toleration that had ever been in England, the ex-
perience of all times since following, has shewn
to be a just one. None can deny but that this
evil does follow upon it, how necessary soever it
may sometimes be on other respects.

1642. It was during the rebellion against king Charles I,

[n] [See 'The Dippers dipt: or the Anabaptists ducked and
' plunged over head and ears, at a disputation in Southwark:
' by Daniel Featly, D.D. 4to, sixth edition, London, 1651.']

and the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell, that this opinion began to have any great number of converts to it. In those times of stirs, they boasted in their books that that prophecy was fulfilled; *many shall run to and fro, and knowledge shall be increased*[p]. That usurper gave not only a toleration, but great encouragement to all sorts of religions that opposed the church of England and the presbyterians. Neither of these could he trust; but laboured to weaken them what he could. And the more dissenters and separaters there were from these, the safer he reckoned he sat. The event of these joining afterward together to vindicate their country from tyranny and utter confusion, shewed that he was in the right.

CHAP. VIII. Year after the apostles. 1553.

In these times of general liberty, this opinion increased mightily; many owning it out of conscience, (we must in charity judge,) as thinking it to be the truth; but many also for advantage. For Oliver, next to his darling Independents, favoured this sort of men most; and his army was in great part made up of them. You must suppose, then, that they left out of their scheme of doctrines that tenet of the Minnists, 'that the sword is not to be 'made use of by Christians;' for they had, many of them, the places of troopers, captains, major-generals, committee-men, sequestrators, &c.

It appears by a passage in the life of judge Hale[q], 1558. how much that party was favoured at that time. For it is there related how that judge having the case brought before him 'of some anabaptists who

[p] Daniel xii. 4.

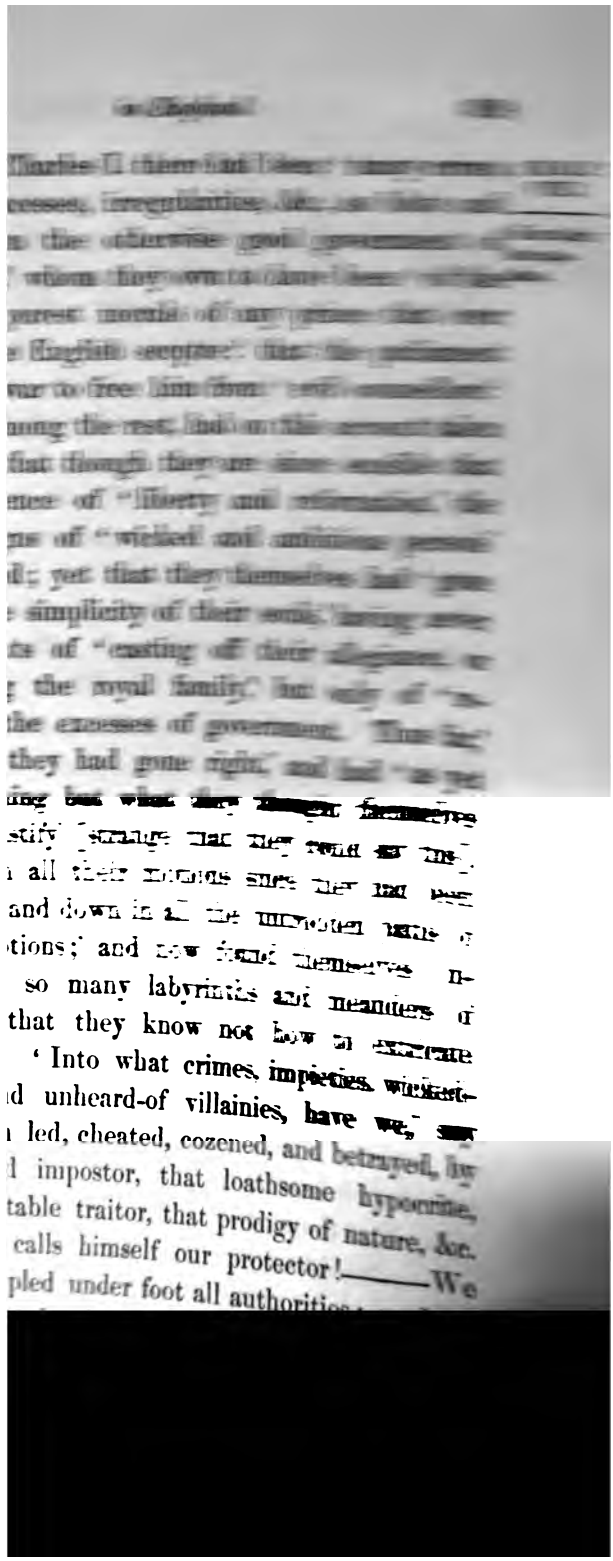
[q] Burnet's Life and Death of Sir Matthew Hale, p. 44. [8vo. London, 1682; and frequently reprinted.]

ed into a church, and disturbed a congre-
while they were receiving the sacrament,
out some violence; at this he was highly
. For he said it was intolerable for men,
pretended so highly to liberty of conscience,
and disturb others, &c. But these were so
rted by some great magistrates and officers,
that a stop was put to his proceedings. Upon
which he declared, he would meddle no more with
'the trials on the crown side.' Yet some time
before the death of the usurper, many of the anti-
pædobaptists as well as of the other separate parties
that had raised him, fell into a dislike of him, and
he of them. So far that he, as one captain Dean
relates, cashiered several of them; and they, as
the lord chancellor Clarendon relates, entered into
several conspiracies to assassinate him.

I have been advertised that I ought in this second edition to insert, in order to their vindication, their address to king Charles II, recited by that noble lord in the fifteenth book of his excellent History of the Rebellion[r]. I will therefore give the substance of it in short; being sorry that it does not tend more to their credit than it does. They (as well as all the other parties of that time except the churchmen) seem to have returned to their allegiance to the king, not out of conscience, but because they found themselves undone without him.

Several sorts and sects of men joined in the address; but it was sent to the king, being then at Bruges, by a gentleman, an antipædobaptist of special trust among them. They recount how

[r] [At the year 1658: vol. iii. p. 488, &c. of the folio edit. 04; and vol. vii. p. 254, &c. edit. 8vo. Oxford, 1826.]



ountrymen; broken oaths, vows, engage-
covenants, &c., lifted up our hands to hea-
deceitfully;—and added hypocrisy to all our
———We were sometime wise to pull down;
we now want art to build. We were inge-
s to pluck up; but we have no skill to plant.
were strong to destroy; but we are weak to
ore. Whither shall we go for help? If to par-
liaments; they are broken reeds. If we turn to
'the army; they are a rod of iron to bruise us.
'If we go to him who had treacherously usurped,
'and does tyrannically exercise an unjust power
'over us, &c.; he says, "I have chastised you with
'whips, and will henceforward with scorpions."
'———At last we began to whisper among our-
'selves,—"Why should we not return to our first
'husband?" &c.'

And so (after many long turns of canting expressions) they come at last to this; that they find themselves engaged in duty, honour, and conscience, to make this humble address, &c.; but yet declare that 'lest they should seem altogether negligent of 'that first good cause, which God had so eminently 'owned them in,' &c., they think it necessary to offer the following propositions, (which his lordship justly calls 'extravagant and wild' ones,) to which if his majesty would condescend, then they would hazard their lives to re-establish him.

1. 'That the king do resettle the long parliament, 'with the excluded members.
2. 'That he ratify all the concessions made by 'his father at the treaty in the Isle of Wight. '[Now those concessions were (as this noble 'historian observes in another place, book 16.

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'p. 723, &c. ed. Oxf. 1706.[r]) "Such as in truth 'did, with the preservation of the name and 'life of the king, near as much establish a 'republican government as was settled after 'his murder." And such as "his Majesty 'yielded to with much less cheerfulness than 'he walked to the scaffold."]

3. 'That he should set up an universal toleration 'of all religions.'

4. 'Abolish all payment of tithes.'

5. 'Pass a general act of oblivion.'

The gentleman added in a letter of his own, that he desired the sum of two thousand pounds to be remitted to him from the king; which sum not being at that time in his majesty's power, this proposal came to nothing.

It was by reason of the increase which had been of this opinion in those times, that the convocation which sat presently after the restauration of king Charles II, when they made a review of the Book of Common Prayer, found it necessary to add to it an office for the baptism of those, who having been born in those times, had not yet been baptized; whereof there were many that were now grown too old to be baptized as infants, and ought to make profession of their own faith. They give in the preface to the said book an account of the occasion that made this necessary then, though not formerly, in these words; 'Together with an office 'for the baptism of such as are of riper years. 'Which although not so necessary when the former 'book was compiled; yet by the growth of anabap- 1561.

[r] [Vol. iii. p. 565. fol. edit. 1702.]

through the licentiousness of the late times
n among us, is now become necessary.'
parliament, assembled upon the said restau-
n, expressed the dislike the nation had con-
against the tenets and behaviour of these
en; when making an act for the confirming all
inisters in the possession of their benefices, how
eterodox soever they had been, provided they
would conform for the future, they excepted such
as had been of this way.

It is to be noted, that when this opinion began
first to increase, they did not all of them proceed
to separation from the established church; they
held it sufficient to declare their sentiment against
infant-baptism, to reserve their own children to
adult-baptism, and to be baptized with it them-
selves; without renouncing communion in prayers,
and in the other sacrament, with the pædobaptists.

1545. In the year 1645, when Marshall had in a sermon objected to the antipædobaptists the sin of separation, Tombes answers[s], that this was practised only by some: that it was the fault of the persons, not of the principle of antipædobaptism: that he himself abhorred it: and he quotes, as concurring
1644. with him, 'the Confession of Faith[t] in the name of 'seven Churches of Antipædobaptists in London, 'Art. 33.'

But these that continued in communion were not for Oliver's turn. There was great care taken to instil into them principles of total separation; which proved too effectual: and within a while they did all, or almost all, renounce the settled

[s] Examen, part ii. §. 9. [p. 31. edit. 1645.]
[t] [Published at London, in 4to, in the year 1644.]

congregations, and became great enemies to them. In which separation they do still, almost all, continue.

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The present state of them is this:

They that are now, are as commendable as any other sort of men are, for a sober and grave, quiet and peaceable way of living. They profess obedience to magistrates: and they will commonly express a dislike and abhorrence of those plunderings and other violences committed by some of their party, as well as by the rest of the army of that usurper aforesaid, of odious memory. They are particularly commended for maintaining their poor liberally, (which is a way that never fails to attract the good-will of the multitude, and to make proselytes,) as also for passing censures upon such members of their own congregations as live disorderly.

This character, of obedient subjects, is what they now own and profess; and what I hope is the real sentiment of most of them. One Mr. Hicks did indeed about twenty years ago (if what was informed against him were true) give a most ugly and reproachful account of the whole body of this people as to this point.

There was at that time, 1683, a villainous conspiracy, headed by Shaftsbury, Monmouth, &c., against king Charles; either to murder, or at least depose him. The conspirators sent their emissaries about, to see what numbers and parties of the people could be drawn in to join in the rebellion. And amongst other discoveries made afterward of this treason, there was this following information given upon oath by one Mr. West of the Temple, which is

n the account of that plot. Copies of formations, p. 41.

'This examinant further says, That Mr. Roe told this examinant, that he had discoursed with one Mr. Hicks a tobacconist, an anabaptist preacher, a great ringleader of the anabaptists; and that the said Hicks had told him that the anabaptists could, and he believed upon good consideration would, make up an army of twenty thousand men, and fifteen hundred of the twenty thousand would be horse: and though perhaps there would be a necessity of making use of some great men at the beginning, (and this examinant thinks he mentioned the duke of Monmouth,) yet when the anabaptists were once up, they would not lay down their arms till they had their own terms.'

If Hicks did never say so, he ought to have publicly disowned it. And if he did, the antipaedobaptists ought to have disowned him from being a leader. Whether either of them were done, or whether Hicks be now living, I know not. God Almighty keep all sorts of people from such leaders, as will lead them in a way to which the Scripture expressly assigns damnation. But however, there were but two men of the twenty thousand that appeared then to have been guilty; and those two were among some of the first that made an ingenuous and voluntary confession. And besides, it is not credible that that party of men could at that time have made up such a number, if they had been never so unanimous in the wickedness. P.S. I hear since [a] that Hicks is dead; but that he lived in Lon-

[a] [His informant was Mr. Stennett; see 'Defence,' chapter vi.]

don many years after this; and that the foresaid accusation was not made good against him; but that king Charles II, upon a hearing of his case in council, discharged him. CHAP. VIII. Year after the apostles.

The number of them had been considerably abated upon the restauration, and the resettling of the church of England. Many at that time returned to the church, and brought the children which they had had in the mean time, to be baptized according to the order thereof. And during the remainder of king Charles' reign the number of them stood much at a stay, or rather decreased; but since late times of general liberty and toleration, they have increased again. In some of the counties of England they are the most numerous of any sort of men that do separate from the established church. This is chiefly in the east parts; Essex, Kent, Sussex, Surrey, &c. There are very few in those parts that make any separation from the church, but they. Which is the occasion that I, as I am placed in those parts[x], have the more minded what I have read in any ancient book relating to that question; from whence have sprung the notes that make the first part of this work. In other parts of England they are much over-numbered by the Quakers. There are also great numbers of them in London and the suburbs. And it is observed from some late passages, that the presbyterians look as if they would court their friendship, and as if they aimed to add this stick also to the other two. 1560. 1587.

Their tenets are, besides the denying infants' baptism, these:

[x] [He was at this time vicar of Shoreham in Kent.]

lo many of them hold it necessary, as I to renounce communion with all Christians that not of their way. Many of them are so pe- ptory in this, that if they be in the chamber of man, and any pædobaptist, minister or other, ome in to pray with him, they will go out of the oom. And if they be invited to the funeral of any edobaptist, they will go to the house, and accom- pany the corpse with the rest of the people to the church door: but there they retreat; they call it the *Steeple-house*. They seem to judge thus: those that are not baptized are no Christians, and none are baptized but themselves. So they make not only baptism itself, but also the time, or age, or way of receiving it, a fundamental.

It is strange to see how deeply this principle of division is rooted in some of them by the care that many of their teachers take to cultivate it. If any one that has been one of them, be afterward prevailed on to go ordinarily to church, and hold communion in all things that he can, though he keep still his opinion of antipædobaptism, they of them that are of this principle bemoan him as a lost man; and speak of him as we should do of one that had turned an apostate from the Christian religion. If any man, being not satisfied with the baptism he received in infancy, do desire to be baptized again by them, but do at the same time declare that he means to keep communion with the established church in all things that in conscience he can; there are (or at least have been) several of their elders that will not baptize such a man. To renounce 'the Devil and all his 'works,' &c. has been always required of persons be baptized into the Christian religion; but to

require them to renounce communion with all Christians, that are not of their opinion, is to baptize into a sect. It is a clear case from Scripture, and particularly from Phil. iii. 15, 16, that the duty of Christian unity does require that they (and the same is to be said of all others that differ not in fundamentals) should hold communion as far as they can; even though they do still continue in their opinion for adult-baptism. Of which I shall say something more in the last chapter. CHAP. VIII. Year after the apostles.

I said before that this scrupulous stiffness is not universal among them. Tombes and several more had, and some of them still have, truer sentiments concerning 'the communion of saints in the catholic 'church.' And I have received of late a credible account, that the most considerable men, and of chief repute among them[y], do more and more come over to these sentiments.

2. They are, more generally than the antipædobaptists of other nations, possessed with an opinion of the absolute necessity of the immersion, or dipping the baptized person over head and ears into the water. So far, as to allow of no clinical baptism: i. e. If a man that is sick in a fever, &c. (so as that he cannot be put into the water without endangering his life) do desire baptism before he dies; they will let him die unbaptized, rather than baptize him by affusion of water on his face, &c.

They are contrary in this to the primitive Christians. They, though they did ordinarily put the person into the water, yet in case of sickness, &c. would baptize him in his bed.

y [Compare Wall's Defence, chap. vi. in reply to Gale's remark at p. 239. of his Reflections.]

bring three proofs of the necessity of im- or dipping.

1. e example of John baptizing Christ, of ilip baptizing the eunuch, and generally of 'the ancient Christians baptizing by immer- 'sion.'
2. 'That baptism ought, as much as may be, to 'resemble the death and burial and rising 'again of Christ.'
3. 'That the word *to baptize*, does necessarily 'include dipping in its signification; so that 'Christ, by commanding to baptize, has com- 'manded to dip.'

To which these answers are commonly given:

The first proves what was said before, that in Scripture times, and in the times next succeeding, it was the custom in those hot countries to baptize ordinarily by immersion: but not that in cases of sickness, or other such extraordinary occasions, they never baptized otherwise. Of this I shall speak in the next chapter.

The second proves, that dipping, where it may safely be used, is the most fitting manner. But our Saviour has taught us a rule, Matt. xii. 3, 4, 7, that what is needful to preserve life, is to be preferred before outward ceremonies.

The third, which would, if it were true, be more conclusive than the rest, is plainly a mistake. The word βαπτίζω in Scripture signifies *to wash* in general, without determining the sense to this or that sort of washing. The sense of a Scripture word is not to be taken from the use of it in secular authors, but from the use of it in the Scripture. What βαπτίζω signifies among Greek writers, and

what interpretation critics and lexicons do accordingly give it, is not much to the purpose in this case to dispute, (though they also, as Mr. Walker in his Doctrine of Baptism[z] has largely shewn, beside the signification *immergo*, do give that of *lavo* in general,) when the sense in which it is used by the penmen of Scripture may otherwise be plainly determined from Scripture itself. Now in order to such a determination, these two things are plain: CHAP. VIII. Year after the apostles.

First, that *to baptize* is a word applied in Scripture not only to such washing as is by dipping into the water the thing or person washed; but also to such as is by pouring or rubbing water on the thing or person washed, or some part of it.

Secondly, That the sacramental washing is often in Scripture expressed by other words beside baptizing; which other words do signify washing in the ordinary and general sense.

For the first there are, besides others, these plain instances.

The Jews thought it a piece of religion, to wash their hands before dinner: they blame the disciples, Mark vii. 5, for eating with *unwashen hands*. The word here is νίπτω, an ordinary word for washing the hands. Their way of that washing was this: they had servants to pour the water on their hands, 2 Kings iii. 11. *who poured water on the hands of Elijah*, i. e. who waited on him as a servant[a].

[z] [See 'The Doctrine of Baptisms; or a discourse of dipping 'and sprinkling: wherein is shewed the lawfulness of other 'ways of baptization, besides that of a total immersion. By 'William Walker, B. D.' 8vo. London, 1678.]

[a] Dr. Pocock has largely proved from Maimonides and others this was the Jews' way. 'Non lavant manus nisi e vase affusa

washing of the hands is called by St. the baptizing of a man, or the man's being ptized, Luke xi. 38. For where the English is, *Pharisee marvelled that he had not washed before ner;* St. Luke's own words are, ὅτι οὐ πρῶτον πτίσθη πρὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου, 'that he was not baptized before dinner.' And so they are translated in the tin. A plain instance, that they used the word *baptize* for any ordinary washing, whether there were dipping in the case or not.

Also that which is translated, Mark vii. 4, the *washing of pots, cups, brasen vessels, tables,* is in the original, the baptizing of pots, &c. And what is there said, *When they come from market, except they wash, they eat not;* the words of St. Mark are, *Except they be baptized, they eat not*[b]. And the divers washings of the Jews are called διάφοροι βαπτισμοὶ, *divers baptisms*, Heb. ix. 10. Of which some were by bathing, others by sprinkling, Numb. viii. 7. Item xix. 18, 19.

For the second there are these:

Baptism is styled λουτρὸν τοῦ ὕδατος, *the washing of water*, Eph. v. 26. λουτρὸν τῆς παλιγγενεσίας, *the washing of regeneration*, Tit. iii. 5. And to express this saying; *having our bodies baptized with clean water;* the apostle words it, λελουμένοι τὸ σῶμα, *having our bodies washed*, καὶ ἐῤῥαντισμένοι τὰς καρδίας, *and our hearts sprinkled*, Heb. x. 22. These words for washing are such as are the most usual for the ordinary ways of washing: the same, for

' aqua.' Not. Misc. c. 9. [See *Notæ Miscellaneæ*, being an Appendix to his *Porta Mosis*, 4to. Oxoniæ, 1655, especially p. 365.]

[b] This was not dipping. ' Lavantes a foro totum corpus non mersabant.' Pocock, Not. Misc. c. 9.

example, with that which is used, Acts xvi. 33. *He washed their stripes.* No man will think they were put into water for that. CHAP. VIII. Year after the apostles.

They had several words to signify washing. And they used them promiscuously for the sacramental washing, and for other washings. It is the Christians since, that have appropriated the word *baptize* to the sacramental washing: much after the same rate as they have appropriated the word *Bible*, which in Greek is any book, to the book of God; or the word *Scripture*, which in the Scripture itself signifies any writing, to the Divine writings.

I did not, in the first, nor second edition, proceed to give any instances out of any other book beside the Scripture, of the word βαπτίζω, used for washing by perfusion: partly because it does not belong to the main matter of my book, which is a history, not of the manner of administering baptism, but of the subjects of it; infants, or adult only. And partly, because I had, as for other authors, referred the reader to Mr. Walker's Doctrine of Baptisms; where there are a great many. But yet having lately met with a very plain instance of that use of the word in Origen, which I think is not among Mr. Walker's; I will give it to the reader. It is in his *Comment. in Joann.* tom. vii. p. 116. Ed. Rothom. 1668[c].

He is there examining the ground of that upbraiding demand made by the Pharisees to St. John; why he baptized, if he were not the Christ, nor Elias, nor that prophet; and says, that they had no reason to think that either the Christ, or Elias, when

[c] [Comment. tom. vi. sect. 13. apud edit. Benedictin. Op. vol. iv. pag. 125.]

e, would baptize in their own person.
rdingly that Jesus (who was the Christ,
rophet) did not baptize in his own person,
disciples. And concerning Elias, speaks
e Pharisees:

δὲ ὑμῖν πεπίστευται Ἠλίαν βαπτίσειν τὸν
ν; οὐδὲ τὰ ἐπὶ τὰ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου ξύλα,
τοὺς τοῦ Ἀχαὰβ χρόνους, δεόμενα λουτροῦ, ὅτε
ταυθῇ, ἐπιφανέντος ἐν πυρὶ τοῦ Κυρίου, βαπτίσαντος;
κελεύεται γὰρ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τοῦτο ποιῆσαι, &c.——ὁ
τοίνυν μὴ αὐτὸς βαπτίσας τότε, ἀλλ' ἑτέρους τοῦ ἔργου
παραχωρήσας, πῶς κατὰ τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μαλαχίου λεγόμενα
ἐπιδημήσας βαπτίζειν ἔμελλε;

'How come you to think that Elias, when he 'should come, would baptize; who did not in 'Ahab's time baptize the wood upon the altar, 'which was to be washed before it was burnt by 'the Lord's appearing in fire? But he orders the 'priests to do that; not once only, but says, *Do 'it the second time; and they did it the second 'time: and, Do it the third time; and they did it 'the third time.* He therefore that did not himself 'baptize then, but assigned that work to others, 'how was he likely to baptize, when he, according 'to Malachy's prophecy, should come?'

In the text, 1 Kings xviii. 33, the order given by Elijah is; *Fill four barrels with water; and pour it on the burnt sacrifice, and on the wood. And he said, Do it the second time,* &c.

This Origen calls the baptizing of the wood.

But to proceed with the tenets of the antipædobaptists of England.

3. As exact as the antipædobaptists are in imitating the primitive way used in the hot countries,

they do not baptize naked: which those ancient Christians always did, when they baptized by immersion; as I shew in the next chapter. They usually spoke of *the putting off the body of the sins of the flesh*, as a thing signified by the unclothing of the person to be baptized. I suppose it is for preserving modesty, that they dispense with that custom. So it seems in some cases they can allow of dispensing with the primitive custom. CHAP. VIII. Year after the apostles.

4. But a more material thing, in which some of them do deviate both from the express command of our Saviour, and the received practice of the church, is in the form of baptism. One sort of them do count it indifferent whether they baptize with these words; *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit:* or with these: *In the name of the Lord Jesus.* And do in their public confession[d] allow either of the forms. And I have heard that some of them do affectedly choose the latter. But I am told, by one who should know[e], that whatever has been done formerly, they that do so now are very few; and those, men not well thought of by the general body of them, but only such as are suspected to be underhand Socinians; for they have many such among them: and it is not for the use of those that have a mind to obliterate the belief of the Trinity, to baptize their proselytes into the faith and name of it. I believe one reason why Socinus had such a mind to abolish all use of baptism among his followers, was because persons baptized in *the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit*, would be always apt to think those names

[d] Confession of the Anabaptists, reprinted, Lond. 1691.

[e] [Mr. Stennet. See Wall's Defence, chap. vi.]

s the Deity in which they were to believe: did not mean they should do. And some llowers have been so disgusted with that baptism, that they have given profane insi- that those words were not originally in ture, but were taken from the usual de- o the form of baptism, and then inserted text of Matt. xxviii. 19.

se that baptize only in *the name of the Lord Jesus* plead the examples of the apostles, Acts viii. 16. Item xix. 5. But though in those passages, where the matters of fact are related in short, there be mentioned in the recital only the name of the Lord Jesus, because that was the name that the apostles found it most difficult to persuade the Jews to own, (they having already, as St. Cyprian says [g], the ancient baptism of Moses and of the law, were now to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ,) yet interpreters have taken it for granted, that in the conferring those baptisms the apostles used the whole form which our Saviour had prescribed. Origen in Rom. vi. Didymus, lib. ii. de Spiritu Sancto. Cyprian. Epist. ad Jubaianum. Augustinus passim. Canon Apostol. 41, 42. aliis 49, 50. And Athanasius says [h], 'He that is baptized only in the 'name of the Father, or only in the name of the 'Son, or without the Holy Spirit, &c., receives no- 'thing.' In short, it is true which St. Austin says [i], that 'in Church-History you shall oftener meet with 'heretics that do not baptize at all, than with any

[f] The Judgment of the Fathers, &c. part i. p. 22.

[g] Epist. ad Jubaianum. [h] Epist. ad Serapionem.

[i] Lib. vi. contra Donatistas, cap. 25.

'that do baptize with any other words,' viz. than those of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. CHAP. VIII.

Yet we do find one sort of heretics that did so. It was one sect of the Eunomians, who, Sozomen says [k], were the first that ever did it. And he gives his opinion that they are in as ill case as if they were not baptized at all. Year after the apostles. 295.

5. Some other singular opinions they hold, that do not at all relate to baptism. Some of them (but I think it is but few in England) do hold that error which has of old been attributed to the antipædobaptists of Germany, and is said to be still held by the Minnists of Holland, that Christ took not flesh of the Virgin Mary, but had it from heaven; and only passed through her, as water through a pipe, without receiving any of his human substance from her. The Belgic confession [l] calls this the 'heresy 'of the anabaptists.'

It is strange to observe in how many heresies, old and new, this odd opinion, so plainly contrary to Scripture, has made an ingredient. It was first invented by the Gnostics and Valentinians; for they explained all that they believed of our Saviour's human nature in this manner; as we perceive by Irenæus [m]. Also by Tertullian [n] we understand that beside them Marcion and Apelles (that was one of his followers) held the same, but with this difference; Marcion said our Saviour had no real flesh

[k] Eccles. Hist. vi. cap. 26.

[l] Artic. 18. [See this confession in the 'Sylloge Confessionum 'sub tempus reformandæ Ecclesiæ editarum,' 8°. Oxon. 1804; again 1827.]

[m] Lib. i. cap. 1 circa medium. Item, lib. iii. cap. 17.

[n] De Carne Christi, cap. vi. &c.

ut only in appearance; Apelles owned
, but not of human race; but made of the
of the stars and heavenly bodies, which
brought into the Virgin's body only to pass
ough her. Athanasius also ascribes this opinion[o]
the Marcionists. Gennadius[p], besides that he
names Marcion, says that Origen and Eutyches
ught that Christ's flesh was brought from heaven.
And Gregory Nazianzen, in an epistle to Nectarius[q],
lls him that he had met with a book of Apollina-
ius, that maintained this heretical tenet, 'that in
'the dispensation of the incarnation of the only Son
'of God, he did not take flesh from without to re-
'pair our nature, but there was the nature of flesh
'in the Son of God from all eternity.' But I hear
hat Canisius[r] has found and published an epistle of
his, wherein he disowns it. I shewed before[s] that
his of Christ's flesh only passing through the body
of the Virgin, made one of the monstrous tenets of
one sort of the Cathari, spoken of by Reinerius, who were Manichees in the main. The old Manichees held that he had properly no flesh at all, that he was not born of Mary, but came from the first man, which first man was not of this earth.

Most of the old heretics that taught this, did it because they would not yield that our Saviour did really condescend so far as to take on him human nature, and be properly *a man made* (as St. Paul expresses it) *of a woman:* so they made use of it to

o De Salutari Adventu adv. Apollinaristas.
p De Eccles. dogm. cap. 2.
q Apud Sozom. Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. cap. 27.
r Antiquæ Lectionis, tom. v. [4°. Ingolestadii, 1601, &c.]
s Chap. vii. §. 4.

impugn his humanity. But we have reason to judge that most that hold it now, do it to impugn his divinity: for by this subterfuge, that his flesh was sent originally from heaven, and only passed through the body of the Virgin, they evade the arguments for his divinity and præexistence, taken from those places of scripture which speak of his *coming from heaven, coming forth from the Father, and coming into the world*, &c., expounding these texts, not of an eternal præexistence, but of his flesh made in heaven and sent down. For they do not understand it, as Apollinarius is said to have done, that this heavenly flesh was from eternity, but made at a certain time before the world, as the Arians said his divine nature was. CHAP. VIII. Year after the apostles.

So that this opinion, as well as the former, fits those antipædobaptists best that are inclined to Socinianism. But what then will these men make at last of our blessed Saviour? The old heretics, some of them denied him to be God, and others of them denied him to be properly man: but these deny both, and say that he is neither God, nor properly man; as not being made of a woman, nor the seed of David. Will they make no more of him than the 'Jesus Christ of the Quakers,' many of whom speak of Jesus Christ as being nothing else but something within themselves, a notion of their brains? But there are, as I said, few of the English antipædobaptists that hold this: some foreign ones, it seems, do.

Whereas Gennadius imputes, as I said, this opinion to Origen; I did suspect it (when in the first edition I wrote it down) to be Gennadius' mistake, (having never observed any saying of Origen

his way,) and I do since find that Huetius[t] ed it to be so. He must have mistaken it her, which Origen did indeed hold, and in the consequence so near akin to this, y are by Athanasius both condemned in one e. He held a præexistence (not of Christ's it) of his human soul.

d imbibed from Plato's notions a fancy that ll souls were created at the beginning: and then he thought it probable that in that præexistent state some of these souls behaved themselves better than others, and so were put into better bodies. And then (according to that rambling faculty that he had of building castles in the air, one on the top of another) he imagined that there might be some one soul among these, that might behave itself far better than any of the rest, and so might be chosen by God out of the rest to be assumed by the λόγος. To which sense he interprets Psalm xlv. 7. making it to be said to this soul, *Thou hast loved righteousness, &c. therefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.* After which he finds out a great many pieces of work for this soul to do, before the time that it was united to the body that was born of the Virgin Mary.

The Christians of those elder times took great offence at his thus bringing the romantic notions of the heathen philosophers and the fictions of his own brain into the most sacred points of the Christian faith; the main property whereof is, that it be kept whole, undefiled, unmixed, and unaltered, and (as Tertullian says) 'not to be mended.' And when his

[t] [See Huetii Origeniana, lib. ii. cap. 2. quæst. 6. p. 92, 93.]

works came abroad in the world, there was for several ages a debate among the churches, whether they should receive his books, and honour his memory, as of a catholic Christian; or hold both in execration, as of a heretic. And though the admiration they had of his great parts, learning, memory, pains, &c. (which were greater than had been in any Christian before, or perhaps have been since,) and their love to the piety that he had shewn did much prejudice them in his favour; yet because of this and other heterodox tenets, he was by the greatest part condemned, (such a zeal the Christians of that time shewed against any one that went about to bring any alteration into their 'form of sound words,') but many on the other side did attempt apologies for him. The first and best of which is that which was drawn up by Pamphilus[a] the martyr, assisted by Eusebius, in six books.

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Some of his tenets these apologists do endeavour to justify by giving a qualifying explication of them; and some that were imputed to him, they shew to be imputed wrongfully. But this, which I have been speaking of, there is not one of them pretends to justify: but yet they say he ought not to be accounted a heretic, because he did not affirm it positively, or teach it dogmatically, or hold it obstinately; but only proposed it to the consideration of the hearers or readers, whether such a thing might not be. So Pamphilus (after he had endeavoured to refute the rest of the accusations against him from his own words) when he comes to

[a] [See what remains of this work, in the Appendix to vol. iv. of the Benedictine edition of Origen's works, p. 17, &c.]

ch is the eighth of the nine capital errors
cussed) says[x]; 'I must make answer here
The answer he makes is, 'that Origen
g that that tenet of the soul is not plainly
ned in the doctrine of the church, did (when-
some words of Scripture gave him occasion, or
rather, of disputing of it, and he did discuss
dle what seemed probable to him thereon)
ropose his thoughts to be judged of and approved
'by the readers, not defining any thing as a plain
'[or positive] point [dogma], or having the autho-
'rity of an article [sententia], and did generally
'add to it such qualifying words as these; "If that
'account which I give of the soul do seem to any
'one to have any probability in it."' And that he
ever wrote any treatise particularly 'of the soul;'
(as he had done of almost every thing else,) which
Pamphilus says, is a sign that he 'did not venture
'to define any thing dogmatically about it.'

This part of the apology is true. For whereas there are but two places in his works, where he insists purposely on this præexistence of Christ's soul; one, *Contra Celsum*, lib. i. the other, περὶ ἀρχῶν, lib. ii. ch. 6. (in other places he only touches it by the by: In the first of these he (as soon as he begins to talk of that matter of the præexistence of souls, upon which it is that he proceeds to speak of Christ's soul) admonishes the reader thus[y]: 'I speak this 'according to the notion of Pythagoras, Plato, and 'Empedocles, whom Celsus often quotes.' And in the latter of them, where he purposely insists on the

[x] Pamphili Apolog. prope finem. [p. 43. edit. Benedict.]

[y] Contra Celsum, lib. i. p. 26. ed. Cant. [Sect. 32. Op. tom. i. p. 351. edit. Benedictin.]

article of Christ's incarnation, he first confesses it to be a miracle and mystery, which it is beyond the power of the apostles, or even of the highest angels, to explain: but yet in the next words ventures on the explication of it, (which he gives to the purpose aforesaid, of a soul præexisting and united to the λόγος, and then incarnated,) but premises that he will not *define rashly* [*temeritate aliqua*], but propose rather *his own guesses* [or imaginations, *suspiciones nostras*] 'than any positive affirmations.' He does not say, 'It is every whit as clearly re-'vealed as any article of faith whatsoever;' or, 'No 'Christian doctrine is more clearly delivered than is 'this of my discourse.'

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These excuses did alleviate, but not quite take off, the scandal taken at this innovation in the faith. When a man in his station, a presbyter of the church, does vent any such odd and singular fancy in religion; though he do it with never so much caution and declaration, that he is not positive in it, yet it always does some hurt, because of the inclination and itch that people have to catch at a newfangled opinion: and it cannot be so absurd, but that it will meet with some sorts of men, or women at least, whose brains stand awry in that particular enough to make them embrace it. It is always remembered among the heads of accusation afterward brought against him: and in that solemn and authoritative denunciation of him for a heretic given out by Theophilus, the patriarch of Alexandria [z], as the præexistence of souls in general makes

[z] Epist. Paschal. i. [published in the fourth volume of the Benedictine edition of St. Jerome's Works, and at vol. i. p. 555, of that by Vallarsius.]

this præexistence of Christ's soul in par-
kes the sixth of the thirty-five errors there
him. And the patriarch is particularly
at his perverting the sense of that text,
i. 6, 7, ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν, by giving a new
tion of it adapted to his new hypothesis.
ve Theophilus must have taken this from
ok of his not now extant; for he never, as
remember, misapplies it so in those that are. He
often applies that text, as other Christians do, to the
λόγος. I will give an instance in the next chapter,
§. 10. And so for John i. 10. Col. i. 15, 16. He
even in the midst of his dreams did never dream
of a man-creator.

The place of Athanasius, where he condemns in one sentence, as I said, both this opinion of the human soul, and the other of the flesh, of Christ præexisting, is in his Epistle to Epictetus[a]: Εἰκότως καταγνώσονται ἑαυτῶν πάντες οἱ νομίζοντες πρὸ τῆς Μαρίας εἶναι τὴν ἐξ αὐτῆς σάρκα, καὶ πρὸ ταύτης τινὰ ἐσχηκέναι ψυχὴν ἀνθρωπίνην τὸν [Θεὸν] λόγον, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ πρὸ τῆς ἐπιδημίας ἀεὶ γεγεννῆσθαι. 'So they will all 'condemn themselves, that think that Christ's flesh 'was before Mary: and that before her God the 'Word had a human soul, in which he was before 'his coming into the world.' God Almighty preserve to us the old Christian religion, and keep us in the love of it, and deliver us from all new ones, and from any such hankering after them as may argue our being weary of the old. But to return to the tenets of the English antipædobaptists.

6. Another opinion which they hold more gene-

[a] [See Athanasii Opera, edit. Benedictin. 2 tom. folio, Paris. 1698. tom. i. p. 907. sect. 8.]

rally, is the millennary opinion. They do, many of them, take that prophecy, Rev. xx. 4, 5, *of the souls of them that were beheaded for the witness of Jesus*, &c., *and which had not worshipped the beast*, &c. *living and reigning with Christ a thousand years*, in a proper sense: so as to reckon that the saints shall rise from the dead one thousand years before others shall. And they think that Christ will then come down, and be here upon the earth (though that be not said in the text) for that thousand years: and then, Satan being let loose to deceive the nations for some time, the general resurrection and end of the world will be. CHAP. VIII. Year after the apostles.

In the reciting and inculcating this doctrine to other people that are not of their way, many of them are apt, instead of saying, 'The saints shall 'rise before the wicked,' to say, '*We* shall rise 'before *you*.'

7. Another thing, which almost all the antipædobaptists in England do hold, is, that that decree of the apostles at Jerusalem, mentioned Acts xv. 29, *of abstaining from blood and from things strangled*, does still oblige all Christians. So they will eat of no such things.

In these two last-mentioned opinions they have many of the most ancient catholic Fathers on their side. And in the latter of the two, the Greek church has all along been, and still is [b], of their opinion. The council in Trullo, which is accounted a general one, forbids 'the making [c] of the blood of 'any animal into a sauce.' And so does one of the

[b] Sir Paul Ricaut, Hist. of Greek Church, chap. xx.

[c] Can. 67.

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Rev. i. 18. item vi. 8. item xx. 13, 14. And in the Old Testament, wherever we read *hell*, it is to be understood *hades*. Jacob and David, &c., whenever they speak of their dying, call it their going to *sheol*, *hades*. Which words our English translates sometimes *hell*, sometimes *grave*, &c. And this shews St. Austin's observation to be a mistake: for he says[f], that *infernum*, which is the translation of *hades* in many places, is never taken in Scripture in a good sense, or as the fate of a good man.

It is plain that Tertullian took it otherwise, by the following passages, beside many other. In his book *de Anima*, c. vii. he speaks of the different state of departed souls, receiving either 'torment in 'fire, or comfort in Abraham's bosom, *in carcere seu 'diversorio inferûm*, in the prison or receptacle of 'Hades.' And in his book *de Idololat.* ch. xiii. he speaks of Lazarus being 'apud inferos in sinu 'Abrahæ.' Which translated into English in our common way of speaking would be; in hell in Abraham's bosom. It must be translated *hades*.

Note, that in all the texts of the Revelation, death and hades, θάνατος καὶ ἅδης, are joined together, and that at the general resurrection *death and hades deliver up the dead that are in them*, viz. to be tried at that great judgment; and then *death and hades are cast into the lake*, &c. i. e. there is to be no more death nor hades; but all is to be either heaven or hell, i. e. an eternal and unchangeable estate of woe or of bliss.

Beside the places aforesaid, several, if not all, of the most ancient copies of the Acts of the Apostles had the word ἅδης, in ch. ii. 24. For where we read,

[f] Epist. 99. [Epist. 164. sect. 7. in tom. ii. edit. Benedictin.]

in the translation, as they have done some original words which had no English word answering to them. By translating it *hell*, and the English having no other word for gehenna (which is the place prepared for the Devil and the damned) than the same word *hell* likewise; it has created a confusion in the understanding of English readers. We say, *Christ descended into hell.* We ought to mean hades: for so it is in the Greek, κατέβη εἰς ἅδου. And so St. Peter, Acts ii. 31. *His soul was not left,* εἰς ἅδου, *in hades.* But when we read of hell, Matt. v. 20. 21, 29, 30. and such other places where the original word is gehenna, we ought to understand the hell of the damned. And the import of these two words in the original differs so much, that whereas all Christians ever believed that Christ descended into hades; yet if any had said, he descended into gehenna, he would have been accounted to blaspheme. And yet the English expresses both by the same word.

To give an account at once of all the places in the Bible where the word *hell* is used. Where we read *hell* in these texts following, it is in the original *gehenna*, or else *tartarus*; and ought to be understood, the hell of the damned. Matt. v. 22, 29, 30. x. 28; Luke xii. 5; Matt. xviii. 8, 9; Mark ix. 43—48; Matt. xxiii. 15, 33; James iii. 6; 2 Peter ii. 4. But where we read *hell* or *grave* in these texts following, the word is *hades*; and ought to be understood only, the state or receptacle of departed souls: or, in some of them, no more than in general a state of dissolution. Matt. xxi. 23; Luke x. 15; Matt. xvi. 18; Luke xvi. 23; Acts ii. 27, 31; 1 Cor. xv. 55, where it is translated *grave.*

gehenna. I shall, for brevity, only recite what Justin Martyr and Irenæus do say. Justin in his dialogue[i] speaking of some heretics, *οἱ λέγουσι μὴ εἶναι ἀνάστασιν νεκρῶν, ἀλλὰ ἅμα τῷ ἀποθνήσκειν, τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἀναλαμβάνεσθαι εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν: μὴ ὑπολάβητε αὐτοὺς Χριστιανούς.* 'Who say there is no 'resurrection of the dead; but that when they die, 'their souls are taken up to heaven:' adds, 'Do not 'take these men for Christians.' And Irenæus in like manner had been saying[k], that most of the heretics denied the resurrection of the body; but held instead of it, that when they died, their souls should presently fly away up to heaven; and that some erroneous catholics held with them in this latter tenet, though not in the former. He urges against them the example of our Saviour; 'Who,' says he, 'observed in himself the law of dead persons, and did 'not presently after his death go to heaven, but stayed 'three days in the place of the dead.' It is plain then, by the way, that he took that paradise where the thief was to be that day with our Saviour, to be not properly heaven, but a station in hades. Then a little after he argues thus; 'Whenas our Lord went into 'the midst of the shadow of death, where the souls of 'deceased persons abode; and then afterward rose 'again in the body, and was after his resurrection 'taken up to heaven; it is plain that the souls of 'his disciples, for whose sake the Lord did these 'things, shall go likewise to that invisible place ap-'pointed to them by God, and there abide till the 'resurrection, waiting for the time thereof; and

[i] [Dialogus cum Tryphone Judæo, 8vo. London, 1719; and in the editions of his Works, fol. 1722. and 1742.]

[k] Lib. v. cap. 31.

having loosed the pains of death; for it was not possible, &c. they for θανάτου read τοῦ ἅδου, *the pains of hades*. So reads Irenæus, lib. iii. ch. 12. St. Austin, *Epist.* 99, and other places. And Polycarp, *Epist. ad Philipp.* CHAP. VIII. Year after the apostles. 67. 300.

Now the ancients did not think that the state of the soul in hades was to sleep, or be senseless. On the contrary, our Saviour in the parable, Luke xvi. 22, 23, represents Dives and Lazarus both in hades, (or one in hades and one in Abraham's bosom, if we take Abraham's bosom as out of hades,) but a great way off from one another, in very different states; neither of them asleep, but one in torment, the other in repose. And all the ancients do instance in this parable as a proof that, before the general judgment, there will be a difference made between the state of good men's souls, and those of wicked men. Tertullian[g] speaks of some who argued that there will be no judgment before the great one, when the soul and body shall be joined; and answers them; 'Quid ergo 'fiet in tempore isto? Dormiemus?' &c. 'What 'then shall we do in the mean time? Shall we be 'asleep? Souls do not sleep, not even when they 'are in the bodies,' &c. And Eusebius[h] tells of some heterodox people in Arabia, who held 'that 'the soul for the present dies together with the 'body, and is raised to life again together with it.' He says, Origen being sent thither presently convinced those people. 100. 120.

But as the foresaid Christians of these ancient times did not think that the soul sleeps; so neither were they, generally speaking, of the opinion that the souls of dying men go presently to heaven or to

[g] De Anima, cap. ult. [h] Hist. Eccles. lib. vi. c. 37.

eason given by the former, viz. Tyndal, ., were to this purpose; that the placing ıe soul in heaven does destroy the arguments h Christ and St. Paul do prove the resur- f the body. As when our Saviour proves aham, Isaac, and Jacob shall rise again in dies; because God, who is since their death d i Scripture *their God, is not the God of the dead, but of the living, for all live to him:* whereas, if Abraham's soul had been then in heaven, that had been no proof that his body must arise; for God then might have been his God, though his body had not risen. And St. Paul proves to the Corinthians the resurrection, because else the Christians would be of all men most miserable, as having hope only in this life. And he comforts the Thessalonians concerning their friends departed, not by saying that they were gone to heaven, but that they should rise again at the last day, and so go to heaven. That the opinion of separate souls going to heaven was the invention of the heathen philosophers, who knowing nothing of the resurrection, did so salve the hopes of a future state; and that some Christians (the papists, Tyndal says) had confounded and mixed the Christian and the heathen doctrine together. And again, if the souls be in heaven, 'Tell me,' says Tyndal, 'why they be not in as good case as 'the angels be: and then what cause is there of 'the resurrection?' All this while these men would not determine in what state the separate souls really are: but Frith[n] says, 'I dare be bold to say that 'they are in the hand of God, and that God would 'that we should be ignorant where they be, and not

[n] [Ibid. page 55.]

'to take upon us to determine the matter.' And Tyndal speaks to the same purpose, and adds concerning the souls of good men; 'I believe they are 'in no worse case than Christ's soul was before his 'resurrection.'

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To these reasons the later divines, of whom I spake, do add; that by the order of the last judgment, in Matt. xxv. and the pleas there used, and sentence there given, it should seem that the souls had not as yet been sentenced and sent either to heaven or hell. *Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you*, &c. *Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire*, &c. *For I was an hungered*, &c. *Lord, when saw we thee*, &c. And then afterward; *And these shall go away into everlasting punishment; but the righteous into life eternal*, &c., does not look as if they had been called out of heaven and hell to receive a sentence to go to heaven and hell; but that they had been till this time in expectation of their final sentence. Though the souls had been, (as these men do constantly hold against the antipædobaptists,) the bad ones in some degree of torment and horror, the good in a quiet repose and hopeful expectation, and as the office of burial says, 'in joy and felicity.' Or, as the ancients express it, *in refrigerio*.

To this may be added; that whereas the general hypothesis is, that the souls of the patriarchs were taken by Christ out of hades, and carried up with him into heaven at his ascension thither; St. Peter, on the contrary, preaching after Christ's ascension, says expressly, Acts ii. 34, that David was not then ascended to heaven. The answer to which (being,

…se, that David was not ascended to hea… …, as Christ was, but his soul might be th… …ms inconsistent with St. Peter's reasoning at … …ce. For he is shewing that that saying of Da… …*u wilt not leave my soul in hades*, could not understood of David himself, who was both d… and buried, and his sepulchre then extant; but *David, being a prophet, and seeing this before, sp… of the resurrection of Christ, that his soul was left in hades:* where St. Peter seems to underst… it, that David's soul was in hades (as well as body in the sepulchre) to that day. The res… their arguments I leave to be seen in their book…

But as to the antipædobaptists' opinion of sleep of the soul; a late writer[p] that lives in a … of Kent that abounds with them, ascribes to s… of them an opinion much worse than the ordin… one of the sleep of the soul till the resurrect… For he says, some of that sect have been hear… say, (and he believes it is the private tenet of otl… of them,) 'That infants dying before actual … 'their souls consume with their bodies; and t… 'die never to be any more. Therefore they forb… 'the giving of baptism, as unnecessary for th… I hope and believe that this can be the opinio… but very few, and those some ignorant peo… among them. And I am lately assured by a m… of chief note among them, that he never knew … one man of any sort of them that held this. … indeed since our Saviour shewed such a concern… tender regard for infants, saying withal, *Of suc…*

p Case of an Infant dying unbaptized, page 18.

q [Mr. Stennet. See Defence, page 170.]

[redacted] of heaven: and [redacted] God and nature [redacted] implanted in the heart of all [redacted] earnest desire of the eternal good of [redacted] : it is an unnatural thought, for [redacted] news of our Saviour, nor [redacted] of godly shall ever have any satisfaction in the [redacted] infants as die; but [redacted] we must suppose, as persons that will be lost for ever, [redacted] using any means that can be used for their [redacted]. P. S. One party of the antipaedobaptists [redacted] any sleep of the soul. And I have it from [redacted] ends, that they that do now hold it are but [redacted] companies, and such as are unknown of the [redacted] sect.

[redacted] any of the antipaedobaptists in England are [redacted] be against any singing of Psalms in divine [redacted]. I recited before out of Peter Chinnock that the Petrobrusians held that "it is a [redacted] ng of God to sing in the church. And the [redacted] s said it is a devilish tune. I believe the [redacted] taken it that it was against the abuses of [redacted] then grew in the public worship: viz. [redacted] and music which hindered the attention to [redacted] e of the prayers. But to profane all sing- praise to God, is a thing not necessary to the [redacted] res both of the Old and New Testament. f them do not dislike singing in general; but t the Psalms of David are not so proper now, e that may be composed on purpose for the the Christian church. And some others of re not at all against singing, any more than Christians are. And it grows of late to be

[redacted]

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more and more in use with them. Though many of them formerly have scrupled the use of Psalms, as sung by the whole congregation jointly; yet of late that humour is in great degree worn off: and the practice of singing David's Psalms, and in the way that other people do, has generally obtained among them.

10. The same may be said of the use of the Lord's Prayer. Many of them do, out of an odd and unaccountable humour, reject the use of it. But though this be an imputation laid by some people on the whole body of them, yet I know that some of them, and believe that most of them do both use it, and teach their children to use it. The Petrobrusians, as well as all the other sorts of the Waldenses, extolled the use of it.

11. So for extreme unction of the sick, spoken of James v. 14, 15, Mr. Russen of Hythe in Kent, a place that is full of these people, says[s]; 'I am 'sure it is both their opinion and practice, as to 'some, though probably all do not use it.'

P. S. This I find to be confessed since by Mr. Stennet. But he tells me, it is but rarely practised: and that not (as the papists use it) only or chiefly in cases desperate; but mostly in hopes of recovery, and for that end.

12. Mr. Russen mentions also[t] a way of marriage used among them, not according to the use of the church of England, and so of doubtful validity in the law of the land. And he says, 'This was

[s] [See David Russen's Fundamentals without a Foundation; or a true] Picture of the Anabaptists, chap. viii. p. 60.

[t] Ibid. page 58.

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formerly wrote a treatise on that subject, wherein he has, they say, said more for it than one could imagine could be said for so heterodox a tenet. There are however in the country few or none of this opinion; what are, are at London. Whether the same men do keep the Lord's-day too, I know not.

15. They differ more among themselves about the practice of Confirmation, or laying on of hands after baptism. Some of them do wholly omit and reject the use of that ordinance, as being popish, or having no foundation in Scripture, or at least not now to be continued. And this it seems was the way of those churches or societies of them, that in
1544. the times I spoke of, did first openly set up at London. Others of them account it a necessary thing. And some of these latter making it an order among themselves, as the church of England does, that none shall be admitted to the holy communion, until such times as he be confirmed, (the church of England adds, 'or be ready and desirous to be 'confirmed,') there necessarily follows a breach of communion between the two parties. And therefore Danvers[y] says, 'must not all those churches of 'that constitution (which require this ordinance) 'necessarily be supposed to be founded in sin and 'schism, as well as in great error and ignorance?' He says, 'It doth not appear that any baptized 'church or people did ever in any age or country

Mr. Thomas Bampfield, 'on the Sabbath,' printed for the author, 1692: 'Dr. Wallis' Defence of the Christian Sabbath in answer 'to the foregoing treatise,' 4°. Oxford, 1692: and Thomas Bampfield's 'Reply to Dr. Wallis,' 4°. London, 1693.

[y] Treatise of Laying on of Hands, Conclusion. [page 59. 5 This piece is subjoined to his Treatise of Baptism, 8°. 1674.]



[redacted]

it to the communion [illegible]

e that [illegible]

6. As to the point of [illegible]

n that are of the [illegible]

general [illegible] as binding a general [illegible]

mption by Christ [illegible] and the [illegible] call

particular [illegible] as binding a particular [illegible]

te redemption of some particular persons.

had said in my first edition, that they generally
le a different opinion about this to be a bar
inst communion one with another. Some of
m do tell me, that this is not general; but only
temper of some hot and eager spirits on both



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England do now admit either sort. this last be in fact the truer account rality of them: for (as I said then) if Christ be never to be one, till all explain themselves alike in the nice happen in reconciling God's præscience nation with man's freewill: it will ne this world. All protestants that mak this account, should learn wit from enemies. They, though they do in carry this dispute to the height, yet d selves from separation for it: in w they are, both in point of interest certainly in the right.

The antipædobaptists may be sure I enemy, when I note this their humo from one another, as an imprudent t it is the interest of the great enemy of Christians should be divided as much and of the papists, that protestants s so whoever were an enemy to these m lar, would wish to see ten parties or every one that is among them.

17. Many (but it seems not all) c *men* are Pelagians in the point of They own nothing of it. The other d both by the 'confession of faith'[z] of s of them, which I mentioned before their present profession. Some of th say, they wonder how these that own can be against their baptism. The I owned no sin in infants, yet granted of their baptism to obtain the kingdo

[z] Art. 4, 5, 21, &c.

these believe they have sin, yet they deny them baptism for the forgiveness of it. CHAP. VIII.

18. Socinians they have some that creep in among them: but I have not heard of any church or congregation of them that makes profession of that doctrine; but, on the contrary, that they that profess it openly are rejected from their communion. And as much as I have said against their divisions, I do not see how they that worship and believe in Christ as God, can join with them that either renounce the worship of him, or believe him to be only a creature lately made, and even still to be in the best estate that he has, of finite worth, dignity, and capacity.

A late confession, published in the name of one hundred churches of them, have them therein to be catholic as to the faith of the Trinity. But yet some printed papers, of much the same date with that confession, passing between some of their congregations [illegible] given [illegible] account [illegible] papers [illegible] and [illegible] that [illegible] the [illegible] hon. [illegible] that [illegible] volume [illegible] that [illegible] this [illegible] 2 m.

[redacted]

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that are accused of holding them: which accusations they think to be fully proved; but the others, it seems, say they are not.

Since my first edition, there is printed in 1706, a Socinian pamphlet, entitled, 'The Unreasonable-'ness of making and imposing Creeds.' It is without a name; but the author seems to be an antipædobaptist, that is angry with two parties of his brethren, one called, *the General Assembly*, the other, *the General Association*. Which, as he represents, having been at some variance, did on June 9, 1704, unite on the following terms:

First, they set down two articles of faith concerning God the Father and our Lord Jesus Christ; containing an orthodox confession of the Trinity, and being much of the same sense as are the first two of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. [This he calls a specimen of *modern creed-making*.]

Then they enact, that if any of their members shall publish or say any thing contrary to that faith, he shall be 'esteemed disorderly, and dealt 'with accordingly.' But they add, that if any member receiving this faith, shall reflect on any member that does not receive it (provided he do not teach the contrary), he also 'shall be esteemed disorderly, 'and dealt with accordingly.'

And on these terms, 'that the Assembly and As-'sociation do presently meet together as formerly, 'and unite.' And they enact, 'that all papers that 'have been published, relating to any difference be-'tween them, be suppressed.' I suppose they had in their eye the papers that I spoke of.

Upon which this author observes, that 'they that

'have not throats wide enough to swallow this 'rough creed, must not tell their reason why. But 'if they will hold their tongues and only think, they 'shall have the favour not to be reflected on.' Upon which he falls into a vein of the vilest raillery, burlesque, buffoonery, and mockery of the doctrine of the Trinity, that this impious age has produced. And it has produced a great deal; too much in all conscience to be borne with. That Socinian doctrine seems to have infected all its disciples (this antipædobaptist as well as the pædobaptist ones) with such a degree of senselessness, that they do no longer discourse in any serious way; but, as if they were talking of some play or jest, make themselves sport with the awful mystery of *God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit*. And since they cannot argue, would laugh us out of our faith. One would think that if their consciences urge them to argue against the God of the Christians, they should in a Christian nation be compelled to do it with less effrontery and impudence.

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These antipædobaptists, as he tells us afterward, met again in 1705, and agreed that none should be a member of the 'General Assembly,' (which, it seems, is a body made up of the representatives of particular churches,) 'unless he do subscribe the 'whole of the foresaid draught of 1704.' So that no Socinian can be chosen a representative or proctor to sit in the General Assembly, for which he is very angry with them, though all the world beside must think it but a necessary caution.

At last, he tells us

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insult, and triumph over, the Convocation of the church of England, for its being under such restraint: whereas these bodies of men do in their assemblies make and publish any rules that they think needful on any emergent occasion; and do actually inflict and execute their church censures on such of their members as do not observe them.

19. They are generally much inclined to hold public disputations about religion before the multitude. Having plain places of Scripture to produce concerning adult-baptism, and several examples of it; they work much on such of the people as had not minded this before, and had not had a right state of the question between the pædobaptists and the antipædobaptists: wherein the former grant that in a nation newly converted to Christianity, (and such are all the cases mentioned in the Scripture,) the adult people must be baptized first, before their infants can be baptized.

Their most eager disputes are against the Quakers. And they have reason. For since so great a part of their zeal is spent in setting the time and manner of baptism right, as they judge: and it happens among them (as indeed the like does among all parties) that there are some that have little religion beside their zeal in that matter: the Quaker gives them the foulest affront possible. He cuts off all their religion at one stroke; saying that all water-baptism, at what age soever it be given, is an useless thing: and perverts all the places of Scripture where it is spoken of, with some farfetched interpretations; as he does likewise in the case of the sacrament. And though among people of sen do own the Scripture, (as some at least

[illegible]

[illegible] great discredit to the Church and [illegible]
[illegible] that that sort of [illegible] of [illegible] that
[illegible] men to Quakerism, should be neither so
[illegible]eal as these. The same sort of [illegible] people
[illegible] would have been [illegible] saints, [illegible]
[illegible]ians, &c. In the Indian religion they would
[illegible]en Ghebers*, and their sect now in vogue be
[illegible]ber's Ghiberish. In the Millenarian they
[illegible] have been of those heretics that have cry-
[illegible]f crying *Allah, Allah*, till their heads grew
[illegible]nd they fell down. If the rest of [illegible]
late sects have, as some think, been con-
by the Jesuits: that Jesuit that contrived
ewed so dull a faculty for the west, that a
one would have thought, have [illegible] c
ciples: and yet it is become one of the most
ng in England. A late author says†, he re-
edibly informed that a St. Omer's Jesuit de-
that they were twenty years hammering out
t of the Quakers. It is strange they could not
or smoothe it any handsomer. For as all poetry,
or play, ought to represent, if not true his-
t something that may look, or be conceived,
, so they that would frame a religion pretend-
be founded on the Scripture, or to be believed

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together with it, should dress it up with tenets that have some appearance of likeness to the declarations of Scripture; and not make it to renounce such things as the Scripture does enjoin in so plain words as it does the two sacraments. But there is a sort of people that take a malicious pleasure in trying how broad affronts the understanding of some men will bear.

It is the vulgar people among the Quakers that we speak of as thus led by the nose, and possessed with this sort of enthusiasm. Their leaders and the politic men among them (if they be not of the foresaid hammerers) seem to have for the bottom of their religion, deism; and to think that reason and human philosophy is a better rule for a man to direct his conversation by, than any tradition or revealed doctrine. For what other than such is the consequent of that principle; that *the light within us*, which comes at last to be no other than our own reason, is better than *any light without us*, i. e. than any Scripture?

20. The English antipædobaptists have for their church-government, Elders, or Presbyters: these have a ruling power in the congregations. Deacons; these take care of the poor. Teachers; any whom the congregation approves of for that purpose, as fit to teach: so of these they have abundance. Yet those congregations of them that are accounted the most regular, do not appoint or suffer any (that are not yet ordained elders) to preach publicly, but only in a probational way, in order to be ordained if they continue to be approved: except on some case of necessity, as in the want of elders, &c. They have some whom they call *messengers*, which is the

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y are ordained by the laying on of an elder's

do, in the disputes which they hold with
of the church of England, frequently urge
their way, viz. for the people to have their
in the choice of church-officers, is the most
way; as being that which was used by the
Christians. Which is a piece of history
it cannot fairly be denied. It was certainly the primitive way for the bishop to choose the presbyters with the approbation of the people: and for the presbyters and people together, being for the most part assisted by some neighbouring bishops, to choose a new bishop in the room of one that died. This continued for many hundred years: and those Christians that have gone about to mend this way, have made it much worse.

But the antipædobaptists have upon the whole no reason to boast of the regularity of their management in this matter. For whereas the primitive practice was, as I said, for the bishop to choose the presbyters with the approbation of the people; the antipædobaptists, as they have preserved and increased the privilege of the people, have quite shut out the office of a bishop, (for by the foregoing account, the messenger has not any of the power of a bishop,) which of the two is the more necessary. For the multitude, partly for want of judgment concerning the fitness of any one, and partly by their inclination to faction and party, and being *puffed up for one against another*[c], are found by woeful experience, in all churches where that way is used, to be

[c] 1 Cor. iv. 6.

wretched choosers for themselves. The original and primitive pattern is the best. CHAP. VIII.

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21. They have this way of adjusting differences that arise among themselves on account of trespasses, dues, or other money matters; which I recite as being worthy of imitation. If any one of them does wrong to another, or refuses to do or to pay what is equitable in any case: if he will not be brought to reason by a private arguing of the matter, nor by the verdict of two or three neighbours added; the plaintiff brings the case before the congregation, when they with their elder are assembled in the nature of a vestry. And in difficult cases, there lies an appeal from a particular congregation to some fuller meeting of their church under a messenger. And he of the two that will not stand to the ultimate determination of the assembly by their usage appointed, is no longer acknowledged by the rest as a brother.

As this is very much according to our Saviour's [d] and St. Paul's [e] direction in such cases; so I have been told that it has the good effect to prevent abundance of lawsuits, and end many quarrels: very few of them offering to withstand the general verdict and opinion of all their brethren. And there is no reason to doubt but that a like course would, if it were put in practice, have a like good effect among other societies of Christians.

22. The like discipline (of renouncing brotherhood) they use against such of their communion as are known to be guilty of any such immorality, as is a scandal to the Christian profession of a sober and godly life: for which care of their members

[d] Matt. xviii. 15, 16, 17. [e] 1 Cor. vi. 1, 2, &c.

no man but will commend them. And I do not mention the ordering of this as r in them: all churches by their constitu- rder the same thing to be done. But the ration, or putting in execution of this or- some churches very slack and negligent; me, very much perverted by corrupt officers urts. The bishop's visiting of every parish began first to be omit- by some bishops, v earnestly enjoined by canons[f]) is now tiquated and forgotten. And there is many tim a very huddling work made of a visitation.

So far as this disci e is omitted or perverted in any church; so far is at church fallen into a very dangerous decay. Among all the exceptions made by the several sorts of dissenters against the church of England, there is none nigh so material as this: nor is there any neglect, the amending whereof would, beside the stopping of the mouths of gainsayers, produce a greater spiritual advantage to their people. In the mean time the dissenters ought to consider and allow these things following:

1. That this is much more difficult in a national church, than in one of their societies. For none side with them but what do it out of some zeal: whether it be a true and godly zeal, or an ignorant and factious one; still it is zeal, and may be made use of to a vigorous execution of the orders passed among them. But there is in all nations, besides the zealous men, a sort of 'flying squadron,' that

[f] See Bochelli Decreta Eccles. Gall. lib. v. tit. 15. c. 2, 5, 9, &c. Item, Bishop Stillingfleet's Charge at his Primary Visitation, page 54, &c.

have really no concern at all for any religion, but being perfectly indifferent, do of course fall in with the national church, as being the most fashionable at that time. These, wherever they light, are a great hinderance to the due execution of any canons for discipline. They are, either by their riches and power too big, or else by their number too many, for the force of the law. The dissenters, notwithstanding the boasts of their exactness of discipline, would find themselves embarrassed, if this were their case. CHAP. VIII. Year after the apostles.

2. That though the Scripture does command churches to excommunicate wicked men, yet it does not allow private men to make separations from a church that does not duly practise that command. Let a man but take care that he do not deserve by his own wickedness to be turned out of the church; and if others who do deserve it, be not, upon a motion made, turned out, that is not his fault, nor will be imputed to him. The church of Corinth was faulty in this, when St. Paul wrote his first Epistle to them: and though he does there[g] reprove them for this fault; yet at the time of his second Epistle, there were still many wicked men[h] whom they had not yet turned out; and yet in both his Epistles[i] he charges that none go about to make any division. And from that time to this time, there has been no church free from these 'spots in 'the feasts of charity.' It is indeed impossible for any church, while it is in this world, absolutely to free itself. In the mean time, private Christians are advised to withdraw their familiarity[k] and con-

[g] 1 Cor. v. 2. [h] 2 Cor. xii. 20, 21. [i] 1 Cor. i. 10; 2 Cor. xiii. 11, 12. [k] 1 Cor. v. 11.

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versation from those that they know to be such. And so far, every private man has the power of excommunication in his own breast.

3. That whereas there are but four sorts of men whom the Scripture does command to be excommunicated: 1. Idolaters[l], unbelievers[m], teachers of false doctrine in the fundamentals[n] of the faith; 2. Men of vicious and immoral lives[o]; 3. Such as in points of trespasses or differences between man and man, will not hear the church[p]; and fourthly those that make divisions in or from a church:—the dissenters and dividing parties should, amidst all the zeal that they shew for executing the law upon the first three sorts, remember that the law is as full, as plain, as peremptory against the fourth sort, as against any of the other. For there is not a text in all the Scripture that is plainer against any sin, or that does more expressly command any sort of sinners to be excommunicated, than is that of St. Paul, Rom. xvi. 17; *Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned; and avoid them.* Therefore he that thinks adultery to be a sin, and drunkenness to be a sin, &c. and schism to be none; or that a man is to be avoided or excommunicated for the one, but not for the other; is one that does not take Christ's commands as they lie in Scripture, but picks out some that he will observe, and others that he will slight according as they please or displease his humour. The word of God is, that every one should avoid or separate from him that goes about to make

[l] 2 Cor. vi. 16, 17. [m] 2 Cor. xiv. 15. [n] 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18. [o] 1 Cor. v. 7, 12. [p] Matt. xviii. 17.

separation. The dissenters, if they apply this, will be inclined to a little more moderation and charity in the censures that they pass upon national churches, for their want of so severe a discipline as they call for. CHAP. VIII. Year after the apostles.

23. The English antipædobaptists have, as the other separating parties in England have, some Jesuits, that in disguise do ever now and then strive to insinuate and get in among them. This society did at first exert the chief of their strength, and employ the ablest men they had, in writing books of controversy against the protestants: and they had the repute of having puzzled the cause better than any other popish writers had. This way, however unfairly managed by them, had yet this commendation; that it was fighting in open field. But having been there repulsed with some loss, it is now a long time since, that they have wholly taken to that way which Dr. Stillingfleet [illegible] ago[q], called their [illegible] and 'lying under hedges.' They will [illegible] into any shape, pretend to be [illegible] the disguise of [illegible] physicians, &c., to get [illegible] making proselytes to the [illegible] moting divisions among [illegible] no employment [illegible] preacher in any [illegible] They can act [illegible] in their sermons [illegible] the pope of [illegible]

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which they thereby get with the deluded people, to engage them deeper in principles of separation from the established church of the countries where they live. Sometimes they have been detected in their lifetimes; and sometimes the cheat has not appeared till a good while after.

The author of a book called Foxes and Firebrands[r], has collected out of histories, records, letters, &c., abundance of instances wherein they have been found instilling or inflaming principles of separation among all the sects or divided parties in England and Scotland ever since the reformation. And out of him the author of a book, called The Picture of the Anabaptists[s], has recited such, wherein they have been concerned with the antipædobaptists. I shall not here repeat them.

One instance, which shews how long it is sometimes before the intrigue is discovered, is this: in the former years of queen Elizabeth's time, there were a sort of people called Puritans, that expressed some dislike at some orders or ceremonies of the church of England; but yet did not proceed to separation, but, on the contrary, declared an abhor-
1467. rence of it. But about the year 1567, 'there succeeded them (as Fuller relating the matter expresses it[t]) 'another generation of active and zealous 'nonconformists. Of these Coleman, Button, Hallingham, and Benson were the chief: inveighing 'against the established church-discipline: accounting every thing from Rome, which was not from

[r] [Robert Ware: see above, p. 363.]

[s] [David Russen: see above, p. 354.]

[t] Church History, lib. ix. [sect. 9. p. 81.]

'Geneva: endeavouring in all things to conform the 'government of the English church to the presby- 'terian reformation.' CHAP. VIII. Year after the apostles.

Camden[a] and Heylyn[x] do mention the same men with the same character: as opposing the discipline, Liturgy, calling of our bishops as approaching too near to the church of Rome, &c.

Now neither Camden, Heylyn, nor Fuller, who recite the names of these men, ever knew any thing to the contrary, but that they were really such as they pretended, viz. protestants puritanically inclined: much less did the people that were led into separation by them know any thing.

But a hundred years after the time that these men and their first associates must have been dead, viz. about twenty years ago, it was discovered that three of the four, viz. Hallingham, Coleman, and Benson, were Jesuits; and that, by the sagacity of bishop Stillingfleet[y] comparing the histories of those times with some Jesuits' letters intercepted about the same time. 1585.

The chief letter to this purpose is recited by the foresaid author of Foxes and Firebrands[z], and averred by him to be 'a true copy taken out of the 'registry of the episcopal see of Rochester, in that 'book which begins anno 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, 'and is continued to 15 Eliz.'

What he recites from that book is to this purpose. In the year 1568, one Heth went about the lower parts of Kent, preaching up division and a purer 1468.

[a] Annal. Elizab. ad ann. 1568.

[x] History of Presbyter. book vi. p. 257.

[y] Unreasonableness of Separation, preface.

[z] Part i. page 15.

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reformation: he came to Rochester, and they, not knowing what seditious doctrines he had preached in the country places, admitted him to preach in the cathedral. The next day there was found in the pulpit a letter that had dropped from him, written to him from one Malt, a Jesuit at Madrid, (which is there recited at large,) applauding the course he took, and advertising him of the success of some others sent on the like errand: and adding these words: 'Hallingham, Coleman, and Benson have 'set a faction among the German heretics, so that 'several who have turned from us have now denied 'their baptism.' This and other evidences being brought, he was convicted in the bishop's court at Rochester to be a Jesuit, and could not any longer deny it. In his boots were found his beads, and a pope's bull for the Jesuits to preach what doctrine they pleased for dividing of protestants, particularly naming the English. And in his trunk were several books for denying baptism to infants.

The author of this recital makes no use of this passage of the letter about Hallingham, Coleman, and Benson. But bishop Stillingfleet shews, that they must have been the same men mentioned by the foresaid historians: and that by German heretics are meant any protestants; that religion being then called the German heresy.

The book from whence this is quoted must probably have been then in the registry, because the said author (who was accounted a man of credit) would not else so positively have referred to it. But I understand by inquiry that it is not now there. By what interest it can have been taken away since that time, (which was about thirty

years ago,) is hard to guess. But however, it seems that Mr. Russen, who says[a] at present, 'if they look 'upon this story as untrue, let them search the re- 'gister, &c., where they shall find to their ignominy 'the verity thereof,' is mistaken. CHAP. VIII. Year after the apostles.

P. S. Since the writing of this, I understand that it is said to have been stolen away in the late king James' time. A neighbour clergyman, the reverend and learned Mr. Edward Brown, rector of Sundrish in Kent[b], now deceased, was told so by an old officer of the church of Rochester. And he left a memorandum of it in writing with Dr. Barker, rector of Brasthead, who since Mr. Brown's death told me he had it. But the persons are now all dead, and the written memorandum is lost.

I shall mention but one case more; and that is one which is not taken notice of by the foresaid collectors. All that I understand of it is from a pamphlet printed by one Everard in the year 1664. By which it appears that he in Cromwell's time had been a captain of horse, and a noted preacher against infant-baptism. He speaks as if he had had a great many converts. This time at which he printed his pamphlet was a time in which it was impossible for him to carry on that trade in a disguise any longer. So he faces about, and endeavours to decoy them over with him to the church of Rome. To this purpose he pretends that it had pleased God to bring him to an opportunity of discoursing concerning religion with a very grave

[a] Ch. vii.

[In the 'Additions and Alterations in the third edition, &c.' added to his 'Defence,' Dr. Wall had added here the words, 'who was born and bred at Rochester.']

Jesuits maintaining that Infant-baptism

ious gentleman, who 'examining every
m the bottom, and laying the axe to the
the tree, &c., asked him in the first place,
r he was sure and certain, that the Christian
in general was more true than the religion
urks, Jews,' &c. In short, this man had by
ade him see that there is no firm reliance
faith either on the Scripture, or on the
ection of the Spirit, or on reason; but only on
authority of the cath e church, by which he
all along means the church of Rome. So he gives
to his pamphlet this title; 'An Epistle to the several
'Congregations of the Nonconformists: by Capt.
'Robert Everard, now by God's grace a member of
'the Holy catholic Church of Christ: shewing the
'Reasons of his Conversion and Submission to the
'said Catholic Church,' printed 1664[c].

But the reasons therein given are so exactly the same with the ordinary sophisms which the Jesuits commonly use to amaze and confound the minds of ignorant people, and the writer of them sets them forth with so much of the same sort of art; that he that reads the book will easily discern, that Everard was not now converted, but was a papist before.

We must think that the instances of this nature that have been discovered are probably but few in comparison with those that never have been so. We oftener find where these men have been, than where they are: and it were happy for England,

[c] [This work was printed at Paris, and consists of forty pages in quarto. The Bodleian library possesses a copy formerly belonging to bishop Barlow, and containing a few MS. notes by him.]

if they had some mark, whereby they might be known. CHAP. VIII.

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There is one tenet of the antipædobaptists in which the Jesuits concur with them, not only when they are in this disguise, but also in their late books to which they set their names: that is, 'that 'infant-baptism cannot be proved from Scripture.' The old books of the papists, and even of some Jesuits, do, as well as the books of protestants, prove it by arguments from Scripture, as archbishop Laud and Vossius have largely shewn [d]. But the late Jesuits have given a politic turn to that point of the Romish doctrine, and say, that it can be proved only by the custom and tradition of the church. They serve two designs by this device. One is, to puzzle the protestants in general, who maintain that the Scripture is a sufficient rule. The other is, to encourage the antipædobaptists that are among the protestants, in their opinion and separation. To which purpose they do in their books furnish them with answers to all the arguments brought from Scripture.

Col. Danvers says [e], 'A great papist, lately in 'London, going to a dispute about infants' baptism, 'told his friend, he was "going to hear a miracle, 'viz. infants' baptism to be proved by Scripture."'

And one E. P. an antipædobaptist preacher, formerly of Deptford, now, I think, about Dover in Kent, in a pamphlet which he entitles, A threepenny Answer, &c. has this remark [f], 'A popish 'priest confest to a minister of the baptized way,

[d] [In his treatise 'De Baptismo,' Op. tom. vi. folio.]

[e] Treatise of Baptism, second edition, p. 134.

[f] Page 25.

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'that "there is no Scripture for baptizing infants: 'but yet it ought to be done, because the church 'has commanded it." This was a true and in-'genuous confession.' There is no doubt but this priest would, if Mr. P. had given leave, have preached the same in his congregation. And if he might have preached in a vizor, would have said it ought not to be done at all.

But I do not so much wonder at these two, as I do at Mr. Stennet, who, in his late Answer to Mr. Russen[5], has thought fit to strengthen his cause not only by quoting cardinal Perron, Fisher the Jesuit, &c., but has spent eleven whole pages in giving us an harangue of Mr. Bossuet, a late popish author, written in favour of the antipædobaptists. Is it news to Mr. Stennet too, that the papists for these eighty years past do this against their own conscience, and out of a design against the protestants in general? If it be, let him consult and compare the popish writers, and he will find that before that time they do themselves all of them prove infant-baptism by Scripture, and that it is only the later ones that have altered their tale. There seems to have been about that time a consult of the Jesuits, wherein it was resolved to give this cue to the writers of their side. Cardinal Perron began this course: and the learned Rivet even then smelled the design, and gave the world notice of it, as I shewed ch. ii. §. 9. Yet even still the papists carry it on in new writings every day: and it takes, it seems, (not only as Saffold's bills do with the new folks that come to town every year, but) even with some of the wiser sort. If the discourse that he

5 [8vo. London, 1704; p. 174—184.]

recites so at length, had any thing of new argument in it; it might be used, come it from whom it would. But there is nothing of that, but what is common, and even trivial, and has been answered a hundred times. It affirms that infant-baptism depends solely on the tradition of the church: but this is said dictator-like. CHAP. VIII. Year after the apostles.

And for the complying answer, that is there given, and fills four or five pages more; which was written, it seems, by Mr. de la Roque: I thought at first it had been a sham; it looks as if the author himself, or some other papist or antipædobaptist, had framed an answer under the name of a protestant, such as they would have. But Mr. de la Roque was, it seems, a learned man in other points, and has well refuted the main of his adversary's book; which is of communion in one kind: but having occasion to speak of this matter only by the by, and having not studied it, but depending on Grotius, and having not well minded what Grotius says neither, he has yielded even more than his opponent pretended to. The opponent had said that infant-baptism depends 'solely on the tradition of 'the church.' The answerer throws away even this grant; and says, 'The primitive church did not 'baptize infants,' p. 188. and proves it by nothing, but an allegation, that is quite mistaken in matter of fact: he says, 'the learned Grotius proves it in 'his Annotations on the Gospel.' Let any one read the annotations, and he will see that Grotius, (how much soever he acts the prevaricator at that place,) so far from proving, does not pretend that there ever was a time in which the church 'did not bap-'tize infants:' but only 'libertatem et consuetu-

is differentiam,' 'the liberty and difference of ... custom;' viz. that some in the church did, and ... did not. And how groundless his pretence ... of that is, I have endeavoured to shew at the ... said ch. ii. §. 9.

One would think, that even the weakest among the antipædobaptists should apprehend, that this new favour and lovingkindness which the priests and Jesuits shew to their side, is all of the same stamp and design, as was that which the late king James, by counsel of the same men, shewed to the dissenters in general; viz. that by furthering the division, they might weaken us all. And as all the honest men among the dissenters then did scorn and refuse those favours, when they saw whither they tended; so ought the antipædobaptists in this case. But if they will not be dissuaded from tampering with the deceitful gifts of the enemy; then their best way is, to do as some have done before them, viz. to borrow the arguments of the Jesuits without saying where they have them. For people will be never the more persuaded that infant-baptism cannot be proved from Scripture, because a papist says so.

The English antipædobaptists are as careful as men in their circumstances can well be, against this intrusion of papists in disguise; by requiring an account of any new preacher coming to them: but it is a thing that can hardly be ever totally prevented without a draught of articles of religion, to which every preacher should subscribe.

VII. Of the antipædobaptists in Poland I have not much to say; save that they were formerly there in great numbers. Lælius Socinus about the

year 1550, and after him his nephew Faustus broached there a most desperate opinion against the divinity of our Saviour Christ[h]: *Who is over all, God blessed for ever. Amen.* Some heretics of old (but yet none within one thousand years of that time) had held that Jesus was a mere man: and that the WORD or Λόγος did only come upon him, or inhabit in him. But these men taught, that even the WORD himself, of whom St. John speaks, was a creature. Which was a heresy perfectly new, and surpassing in impiety almost all that ever were. So they renounced the doctrine of the Trinity. The form of words by which Christians are baptized, *In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit*, stood in their way. Socinus therefore expressed a very slighting opinion of all water-baptism. He would have it be accounted needless in a nation that is settled in the profession of Christianity. He said[i], the apostles practised it: but they had no command so to do: and so either Christians might use it as an indifferent thing. That they may baptize, if they will; or let it alone, if they will. And if they will give baptism, they may give it in infancy or in adult age: it is much what one. His followers, many of them, took him at this last proposal. They would baptize, but not in infancy.

There were also some other antipædobaptists that were not Socinians. But they were so generally mixed, that the ordinary name given to all Socinians

[h] Rom. ix. 5.

[i] Disput. de Baptismo. Epist. de Baptismo ad Virum nobilem. Epist. altera de Baptismo. [printed in 8vo. at Rakow, in 1613. and again, in the collection of Socinus' works in folio.]

ptists. About the year 1650, they were
dicts expelled that kingdom: as the pro-
n general have since been.
same may be said of Bohemia and Mo-
and some other countries thereabouts. There
bout one hundred years many antipædo-
xed with the protestants in those coun-
s. both one and the other have since been
by popish persecutions eith- perverted, or forced to seek new seats.

In Hungary and Transylvania, but especially the latter, there are said to be still considerable numbers of them; some towns and villages consisting mostly of these men. But it is said withal[k], that they are mostly Socinians. There were in Transylvania so long ago as the time of the later Socinus beforementioned, viz. Faustus Socinus, some of these that were deeper in that heresy, if possible, than he himself was. They held, as he tells us[l], 'the doctrines of 'the TRINITY and of INFANT-BAPTISM to be the 'chief errors of the other churches. So that if any 'one would renounce these two, and would firmly 'hold, that all that have been baptized in infancy 'must be baptized when they are grown up; they 'would own such an one for a brother in point 'of doctrine,' &c. though he differed in some other things.

This is a gracious condescension. But yet I question whether, as the case stands, it will induce many to accept of the proposal: because all people thereabouts know, that by complying but a very little further, they may be admitted for true Mussulmen,

[k] Osiander, Appendix Histor.

[l] Epist. de Baptismo ad Virum nobilem.

and allowed to wear white turbans in the city of Stambol, an honour which these gentlemen seem very ambitious of. But as for those that desire to keep the name of Christians, God preserve them from the folly of buying the brotherhood of these men at so dear a rate as the renouncing of their God. CHAP. IX. Year after the apostles.

CHAP. IX.

Of the most ancient Rites of Baptism.

§. I. THE rites and circumstances attending baptism have been largely handled by Josephus Vicecomes[m]. I shall only briefly mention some of the most ancient.

It was the custom of every church of Christians to require adult persons that were to be baptized, to spend some time in prayer and fasting before their entrance into that holy covenant: that they might come with greater seriousness and steadfastness of resolution to the sacrament thereof. And the church did use to fast and pray with them and for them.

This fasting, though it be nowhere mentioned in Scripture, yet is expressly put among the customs of the Christians by Justin Martyr, (who must have been born in the Scripture-times,) in that apology which he makes to the heathen emperors concerning the tenets and practices of the Christians. The place I recited before[n]. 140.

And so it is also by Tertullian[o]. 'They,' says he, 'that come to baptism, must use the devotions of' 200.

[m] [See above, at p. 266, a notice of his work on this subject.]

[n] Part i. ch. 11. §. 3.

[o] Lib. de Baptismo, cap. 20.

ju t prayers, fastings, kneelings, and watch- and the confession of all their past sins; that ney may at least do as much as was done in ohn's baptism: *They were baptized*, it is said, *confessing their sins.*'

I said before[p], that it is probable that this was none of the least reasons for keeping the Lent fast; because the baptism of so many people was to be at Easter. The council of Laodicea do order[q], 'that 'none be admitted to baptism at Easter, that 'does not give in his name before a fortnight of 'Lent be out. And that they must all be able to 'say the Creed by Thursday before Easter. And 'that, if any be baptized in sickness; when they 'recover, they must learn and recite it.'

II. Their general and ordinary way was to baptize by immersion, or dipping the person, whether it were an infant, or grown man or woman, into the water. This is so plain and clear by an infinite number of passages, that, as one cannot but pity the weak endeavours of such pædobaptists as would maintain the negative of it; so also we ought to disown and shew a dislike of the profane scoffs which some people give to the English antipædobaptists merely for their use of dipping. It is one thing to maintain that that circumstance is not absolutely necessary to the essence of baptism, and another, to go about to represent it as ridiculous and foolish, or as shameful and indecent; when it was in all probability the way by which our blessed Saviour, and for certain was the most usual and ordinary way by which the ancient Christians, did

[p] Part i. chap. 17. §. 5. [q] Can. 45, 46, 47.

receive their baptism. I shall not stay to produce the particular proofs of this. Many of the quotations which I brought for other purposes, and shall bring, do evince it. It is a great want of prudence, as well as of honesty, to refuse to grant to an adversary what is certainly true, and may be proved so. It creates a jealousy of all the rest that one says.

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Before the Christian religion was so far encouraged as to have churches built for its service, they baptized in any river, pond, &c. So Tertullian says[r]; 'It is all one whether one be washed in the 'sea or in a pond, in a fountain or in a river, in a 'standing or in a running water: nor is there any 'difference between those that John baptized in 'Jordan, and those that Peter baptized in the river 'Tiber.' But when they came to have churches; one part of the church, or place nigh the church, called *the baptistery*, was employed to this use, and had a cistern, font, or pond large enough for several at once to go into the water; divided into two parts by a partition, one for the men and the other for the women for the ordinary baptisms.

100.

On the other side, the antipædobaptists will be as unfair in their turn, if they do not grant that in the case of sickness, weakliness, haste, want of quantity of water, or such like extraordinary occasions, baptism by affusion of water on the face was by the ancients counted sufficient baptism. I shall, out of the many proofs for it, produce two or three of the most ancient.

Anno Dom. 251. Novatian was by one party of the clergy and people of Rome chosen bishop of

251.

[r] De Baptismo, c. 4.

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that church, in a schismatical way, and in opposition to Cornelius, who had been before chosen by the major part, and was already ordained. Cornelius does in a letter to Fabius bishop of Antioch vindicate his right: and shews[a] that Novatian came not canonically to his orders of priesthood: much less was he capable of being chosen bishop: for 'that all the clergy, and a great many of the laity, 'were against his being ordained presbyter, because 'it was not lawful (they said) for any one that had 'been baptized in his bed in time of sickness, [τὸν 'ἐν κλίνῃ διὰ νόσον περιχυθέντα,] as he had been, to be 'admitted to any office of the clergy.'

This shews that at the time when Novatian turned Christian, which could not by this account be much above one hundred years after the apostles, it was the custom for any one that in time of sickness desired baptism, to have it administered to him in his bed by affusion: as in another part of this letter is said of him: ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κλίνῃ ᾗ ἔκειτο περιχυθείς: 'baptized by affusion in the bed as he lay.' It is true, the Christians had then a rule among themselves, that such an one, if he recovered, should never be preferred to any office in the church. Which rule they made, not that they thought that manner of baptism to be less effectual than the other, but for the reason expressed by the council of Neocæsarea held about eighty years after this time: the twelfth canon whereof is: 'He that is 'baptized when he is sick, ought not to be made 'a priest: for his coming to the faith is not volun-'tary, but from necessity) unless his diligence and

[a] Euseb. Hist. Eccles. lib. vi. cap. 43.

'faith do afterward prove commendable, or the 'scarcity of men fit for the office do require it.' CHAP. IX.

Another instance about the same time is this; one Magnus, a countryman, writes to St. Cyprian [t], desiring to be satisfied in some points relating to the schism of the Novatians. One was: whether those that were baptized in that schism must be baptized again if they come over from the schism to the church? This, St. Cyprian answers, must be; because all baptism, given by such as are in a state of division from the church, is void. The other was: whether they that in the communion of the church are baptized in bed, as Novatian was, must likewise be baptized again, if they recover? To this St. Cyprian answers as follows: Year after the apostles. 155.

'You inquire also, dear son, what I think of such 'as obtain the grace in time of their sickness and 'infirmity; whether they are to be accounted law-'ful Christians, because they are not washed all 'over with the water of salvation, but have only 'some of it poured on them. In which matter I 'would use so much modesty and humility, as not 'to prescribe so positively, but that every one 'should have the freedom of his own thought, and 'do as he thinks best. I do, according to the best 'of my mean capacity, judge thus; that the di-'vine favours are not maimed or weakened, so as 'that any thing less than the whole of them is 'conveyed, where the benefit of them is received 'with a full and complete faith both of the giver 'and receiver.

'For the contagion of sin is not in the sacrament

[t] Cypriani Epist. 69. edit. Oxon. [76. edit. Benedictin. Paris. 1726.]

CHAP. VIII.

Year after the apostles.

1436.

others? No: the Holy Spirit is not given by several measures, but is wholly poured on them that believe,' &c.

And having, in order to set forth this equality, alluded to what is said, Exod. xvi. 18, of every man's having an equal homer of manna, he adds; by which it was signified that the mercy and heavenly grace of Christ which was to come in after-times would be divided equally to all; and the gift of the spiritual grace would be poured on all God's people without any difference on account of sex or years of age,' [which words are another proof of his owning infant-baptism,] or of respect of persons.'

'We see,' says he, 'this proved by the experience of the thing: that such as are baptized and do obtain the grace in their sickness, when need so requires, are freed from the unclean spirit with which they were before possessed: and do [illegible] commendably and approved in the church. and [illegible] every day proceed by the increase of their [illegible] an increase of the heavenly grace,' &c.

A little after, he argues thus: 'Can any [illegible] it reasonable that so much honour [illegible] ed to the heretics, that such as [illegible] should never be asked whether [illegible] all over, or only an affusion [illegible] among us any should detract [illegible] integrity of faith?' &c. [illegible] he several sects did, as well [illegible] use clinical baptism in case [illegible]

The Acts also of St. [illegible]

being converted, brought a pitcher of water
rence to baptize him with. And though
cts, as they are now, are interpolated and
vith falsehoods[x]; yet this passage seems to
ne, because it is cited by Walafridus Strabo[y],
d before those times in which most of the
forgeries were added to the histories of their

dus[z] also mentions Basilides baptized in prison by some brethren. The strict custody under which Christian prison ere kept, their tyrannical jailors hardly allo hem necessaries for life, much less such convenie as they desired for their religion, makes it very probable that this must have been done by affusion only of some small quantity of water. And the like may be said of the jailor baptized by St. Paul in haste, *the same hour of the night*, (in which he was converted,) *he and all his, straightway*[a].

These are some of the most ancient instances of that sort of baptism that are now extant in records. But the further one proceeds in reading the following times, the more frequent they are: insomuch
395. that Gennadius[b] of Marseilles in the fifth century speaks of baptism as given in the French church indifferently, by either of the ways, of immersion or aspersion. For having said, 'we believe the way 'of salvation to be open only to baptized persons;

[x] [See these extended to the length of fifty folio pages, in the Acta Sanctorum, at the 10th day of August.]

[y] De Rebus Ecclesiast. cap. 26. [See some account of this author above, at p. 13 of this volume.]

[z] Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. cap. 5. [a] Acts xvi. 33.

[b] De Eccles. Dogmatibus, cap. 74.

'we believe that no catechumen, though he die in 'good works, has eternal life;' he adds; 'except 'the case of martyrdom, in which all the sacraments 'of baptism are completed.' Then, to shew how martyrdom has all in it that baptism has, he says; 'the person to be baptized owns his faith before the 'priest: and when the interrogatories are put to 'him, makes his answer. The same does a martyr 'before the heathen judge: he also owns his faith; 'and when the question is put to him, makes an- 'swer. The one after his confession is either wetted 'with the water, or else plunged into it; and the 'other is either wetted with his own blood, or else 'is plunged [or overwhelmed] in fire.' CHAP. IX. Year after the apostles.

In the times of Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventure, immersion was in Italy the most common way; but the other was ordinary enough. Thomas speaks thus[c]; 'baptism may be given not only by 'immersion, but also by affusion of water, or sprink- 'ling with it. But it is the safer way to baptize 'by immersion, because that is the most common 'custom.' And again: 'by immersion the burial of 'Christ is more lively represented; and therefore 'this is the most common and commendable way.' Bonaventure says[d], that the way of affusion was probably used by the apostles, and was in his time used in the churches of France, and some others: but he says; the way of dipping into the water is 'the more common, and the fitter, and the safer.' 1155.

One would have thought that the cold countries should have been the first that should have changed the custom from dipping to affusion, because in cold

[c] Part. iii. Quæst. 66. Art. 7.

[d] In librum iv. Sententiarum, Distinct. 3. Art. 2. Quæst. 2.

the bathing of the body in water may seem
ore unnatural and dangerous to the health
the hot ones; (and it is to be noted by the
that all those countries of whose rites of bap-
nd immersion used in it, we have any account
cripture, or other ancient history, are in hot
ates; where frequent and common bathing both
nts and grown persons is natural, and even
cessary to the health.) But by history it appears,
that the cold climates held the custom of dipping as
long as any; for England, which is one of the
coldest, was one of the latest that admitted this
alteration of the ordinary way. Vasquez[e] having said
that it was the old custom both in the East and the
West to baptize both grown persons and infants, that
were in health, by immersion: and that it plainly ap-
pears by the words of St. Gregory, that the custom
490. continued so to be in his time, adds; 'and it continues,
'as they say, to this day among the English, as
'Erasmus has noted in the margin of the 76th
'Epistle of St. Cyprian.' Erasmus is there observing
how the baptism of infants is in different countries
variously administered: and says; 'perfunduntur
'apud nos, merguntur apud Anglos.' 'With us [the
'Dutch] they have the water poured on them: in
'England they are dipped.' Therefore it is probable
that Erasmus wrote his Colloquy called *ἰχθυοφαγία*
in England. In which he says; 'we dip children
'newly come forth from their mothers' womb, all
'over into cold water, which has stood a long time
'in a stone font: I will not say, till it stinks.' This
is a good authority for so late as the time of
Henry VIIIth, at which time he lived in England.

[e] In Tertiam Partem S. Thomæ, Disput. 145. cap. 2.

And I produced before[f] a passage out of a convocation in that king's reign, which also shews that the general custom in England then was to dip infants. And it continued so for two reigns more. CHAP. IX. Year after the apostles. 1436.

I will here endeavour to trace the times when it began to be left off in the several countries of the west: meaning still, in the case of infants that were in health, and in the public baptism; for in the case of sickly or weak infants, there was always, in all countries, an allowance of affusion or sprinkling, to be given in haste, and in the house, or any other place.

France seems to have been the first country in the world, where baptism by affusion was used ordinarily to persons in health, and in the public way of administering it. Gennadius of Marseilles, 395. whose words I gave before[g], is the first author that speaks of it as indifferent.

It came more and more into request in that country, till in Bonaventure's time it was become, 1160. as appears by his words last quoted, a very ordinary practice: and though he say, some other churches did then so use it, yet he names none but France.

The synod of Angiers, 1275, speaks of dipping or 1175. pouring, as indifferently used; and blames some ignorant priests, for that they dip or pour the water but once: and instructs them that the general custom of the church is to dip thrice, or pour on water three times.

The synod of Langres mentions pouring only; 1304. 'Let the priest make three pourings or sprinklings 'of water on the infant's head,' &c.

[f] Ch. viii. §. 6.

[g] [At page 390.]

from thence to the year 1600, (and till
y for ought I know,) the synodical acts
s of the churches in France do mention
netimes dipping or pouring, and sometimes pour-
only: but the practice for a long time has been
ly. The synod of Aix, 1585, says, 'pour-
pping, according as the use of the church
nd orders, that 'the pouring of the water be
ot ne with the hand, but with a ladle [or vessel]
'kept in the font for that purpose.' This account
of the synods I have out of *Bochelli Decreta Eccles. Gallicanæ*, lib. ii. *de baptismo*[h].

From France it spread (but not till a good while after) into Italy, Germany, Spain, &c., and last of all into England.

For Italy: I have shewn already, that dipping
1160 was the more ordinary custom at the year 1260. By what degrees it altered, is not worth the while to search. In two hundred years' time the other became the ordinary way.

In Germany, Walafridus Strabo, 850, Rupertus, 1120, and several others, do so speak of baptism, as that it appears by their words, that dipping of infants was the general custom; except of such as
1435 were sick, &c., and must be baptized in haste. But the council of Cologne under Herman, in the year 1536, speaks of it more indifferently: 'The child is 'thrice either dipped, or wetted, with the water,' &c. And fifteen years after, the Agenda[i] of the church of

[h] [Folio, Paris, 1609.]

[i] [See 'Agenda Ecclesiæ Moguntinensis, per D. Sebastianum 'Archiepiscopum Moguntinum,' &c. folio, Moguntiæ, 1551. The same book had been published previously, namely in the year 1480. Sebastian made some slight additions to it.]

Mentz, published by Sebastian, do recommend and prefer the latter: 'Then let the priest take the 'child in his left arm; and holding him over the 'font, let him with his right hand three several 'times take water out of the font, and pour it on 'the child's head, *ita quod aqua tingat caput et 'scapulas*, so as that the water may wet its head 'and shoulders.' Then they give a note to this purpose; that immersion, once or thrice, or pouring of water, may be used, and have been used, in the church: and that this variety does not alter the nature of baptism: and that a man shall do ill to break the custom of his church for either of them. But they add, that it is better, if the church will allow, to use pouring on of water. For suppose, say they, the priest be old and feeble, or have the palsy in his hands, or the weather be very cold, or the child very infirm, or be too big to be dipped in the font; then it is much fitter to use affusion of the water. Then they bring the instance of the apostles baptizing three thousand at a time, the instance of St. Laurence, that I spoke of before, and the story (which I suppose is forged) of Chlodoveus, baptized in that fashion by Remigius: and say; 'That therefore there may not be one way for the 'sick, and another for the healthy; one for children, 'and another for bigger persons; it is better that 'the minister of this sacrament do keep the safest 'way, which is, to pour water thrice: unless the 'custom be to the contrary.'

CHAP. IX. Year after the apostles. 1451.

In England there seem to have been some priests so early as the year 816, that attempted to bring in 816. the use of baptism by affusion in the public administration; for Spelman recites a canon of a council

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in that year[k], 'Let the priests know, that when 'they administer holy baptism, they must not pour 'the water on the head of the infants: but they 'must always be dipped in the font. As the Son of 'God gave his own example to all believers, when 'he was thrice dipped in the waters of Jordan; 'so it is necessary by order to be kept and used.'

Lyndewode, who was dean of the arches in the
1322. time of Henry V. 1422, and wrote the best account of our English Constitutions, having spoken of the manner of baptizing infants by dipping, adds this note[l]; 'But this is not to be accounted to be of the 'necessity [or essence] of baptism: but it may be 'given also by pouring or sprinkling. And this 'holds especially where the custom of the church 'allows it.' It is to be noted, that France had, as I shewed just now, before this time, admitted of the way of pouring water; and Lyndewode had lived in France under Henry the Fifth of England, who was king there.

1280. Some do prove from Wickliffe, that it was held indifferent in England, in his time, whether dipping or pouring were used: because he says at one place, 'Nor is it material whether they be dipped once 'or thrice, or water be poured on their heads: but 'it must be done according to the custom of the 'place where one dwells[m].' But we ought to take the whole context as it lies in his book. He had been speaking of the necessity of baptism to salva-

[k] Concil. Anglicana, tom. i. pag. 331. Synod. apud Celecyth. sub Walfredo.

[l] Constit. lib. iii. cap. de Baptismo.

[m] Trialog. lib. iv. cap. 11. [De Baptismo. pag. 118. edit. 1525. 4to.]

tion, from that text, John iii. 5, and then adds; 'et 'ordinavit ecclesia, quod quælibet persona fidelis in 'necessitatis articulo poterit baptizari [*l.* baptizare] '———Nec refert,' &c. 'And the church has or- 'dained that in a case of necessity any person that 'is fidel [or that is himself baptized] may give bap- 'tism, &c.———Nor is it material whether they be 'dipped,' &c. Such words do not suppose any other way than dipping used ordinarily: but only in a juncture of necessity, or fear of the infant's death. CHAP. IX. Year after the apostles.

The offices or liturgies for public baptism in the church of England did all along, so far as I can learn, enjoin dipping, without any mention of pouring or sprinkling. The *Manuale ad usum Sarum*, printed 1530, the 21st of Henry VIIIth, orders thus for the public baptisms; 'then let the 'priest take the child, and, having asked the name, 'baptize him by dipping him in the water thrice,' &c. And John Frith[n], writing in the year 1533 a Treatise of Baptism, calls the outward part of it, the 'plunging down in the water, and lifting up 'again.' Which he often mentions, without ever mentioning pouring or sprinkling. 1430. 1433.

In the Common Prayer Book printed 1549, the second of king Edward the VIth, the order stands thus: 'shall dip it in the water thrice, &c.—So it 'be discreetly and warily done: saying, *N.* I bap- 'tize thee,' &c. But this order adds; 'and if the 'child be weak, it shall suffice to pour water upon 'it, saying the foresaid words.' Afterward, the books do leave out the word *thrice:* and do say; 1449.

[n] [See 'the works of Tyndal, Frith, and Barnes,' cited above.]

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'shall dip it in the water, so it be discreetly,' &c. Which alteration, I suppose[o], was made in the sixth of Edward the VIth, for then there was a new edition of the book with some light alterations. And from thence it stood unaltered as to this matter to
1452. the fourteenth of Charles II.
1562.

From this time of king Edward, Mr. Walker[p] (who has taken the most pains in tracing this matter) derives the beginning of the alteration of the general custom. He says, that 'dipping was at 'this time the more usual, but sprinkling was some-'times used: "which within the time of half a cen-
1450. 'tury [meaning from 1550 to 1600] prevailed to 'be the more general (as it is now almost the only) 'way of baptizing."'

But it is not probable that in so short a reign as
1453. that of king Edward, who died in 1553, the custom could receive any great alteration. Customs, in which the whole body of the people is concerned, alter but slowly, when they do alter.

And in queen Mary's time the custom of dipping seems to have continued. For Watson[q], the popish

[o] [In the edition of 1549 the words are as given by Wall: in that of 1552, the word 'thrice' is omitted, the rest remain as before. In that of queen Elizabeth, published in 1559, the same. In king James', of 1607, the same. In king Charles', 1639, the same.

It may be remembered, that in all these, even the earliest, we find, in the office for *private* baptism, a rubric enjoining that [first 'one of the persons present,' and afterwards] 'the lawful 'minister' shall dip the child in *water or* pour *water upon him*, saying, &c.]

[p] Doctrine of Baptisms, chap. x. p. 147. [8°. London, 1678.]

[q] ['See Holsome and Catholyke doctryne concerninge the 'seven Sacramentes of Chrystes Church—— set forth in maner

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bishop of Lincoln, did in the year 1558, which was the last of queen Mary, publish a volume of sermons about the sacraments: in the fourth of which he says; 'though the old and ancient tradition of 'the church hath been from the beginning to dip 'the child three times, &c. yet that is not of such 'necessity, but that if he be but once dipped in the 'water, it is sufficient. Yea, and in time of great 'peril and necessity, if the water be but poured 'upon his head, it will suffice.' A sign, that pouring was not in queen Mary's time used but in case of necessity.

Year after the apostles. 1458.

But there are apparent reasons why that custom should alter during queen Elizabeth's reign.

The latitude given in the Liturgy, which could have but little effect in the short time of king Edward's reign, might, during the long reign of this queen, produce an alteration proportionably greater. It being allowed to weak children (though strong enough to be brought to church) to be baptized by affusion, many fond ladies and gentlewomen first, and then by degrees the common people, would obtain the favour of the priest to have their children pass for weak children, too tender to endure dipping in the water. 'Especially,' (as Mr. Walker observes,) 'if some instance really were, or were but 'fancied and framed, of some child's taking cold or 'being otherwise prejudiced by its being dipped[r].'

And another thing that had a greater influence than this, was; that many of our English divines and other people had, during queen Mary's bloody

'of short sermons——by Thomas [Watson] bishop of Lin-'colne.' 4°. London, 1558.—Sermon iv. folio 22, 23.]

[r] [Doctrine of Baptisms, p. 147.]

led into Germany, Switzerland, &c., and back in queen Elizabeth's time, they brought m a great love to the customs of those pro- churches wherein they had sojourned: and y the authority of Calvin, and the rules e had established at Geneva, had a mighty e on a great number of our people about e. Now Calvin had not only given his dic- his Institutions[r] that 'the difference is of no 'moment, whether is baptized be dipped all 'over; and if so, w thrice or once; or whe- 'ther he be only wetted ith the water poured on 'him:' but he had also d wn up for the use of his church at Geneva (and aft rwards published to the world) a form of administering the sacraments[s], where, when he comes to der the act of baptizing, he words it thus: 'then he minister of baptism 'pours water on the i ant; saying, I baptize 'thee,' &c. There had been, as I said, some synods in some dioceses of France that had spoken of affusion without mentioning immersion at all; that being the common practice: but for an office or liturgy of any church, this is, I believe, the first in the world that prescribes affusion absolutely. Then Musculus had determined[t], 'as for dipping of the 'infant; we judge that not so necessary, but that it 'is free for the church to baptize either by dipping

[r] Lib. iv. cap. 15. §. 19.

[s] Tractat. Theolog. Catechismus, p. 57. ed. Bezæ, 1576. [contained in the eighth volume of Calvin's works, folio, Amsterdam edition.]

[t] Loci Communes de Baptismo, p. 431. [See 'Wolfgangi 'Musculi Loci Communes Theologiæ Sacræ,' folio, Basileæ, 1599. De Baptismo, §. 3. p. 339.—Musculus confirms his judgment on the point by quotations from Augustine and Cyprian.]

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'or sprinkling.' So that (as Mr. Walker observes[u]) 'no wonder if that custom prevailed at home, which 'our reformed divines in the time of the Marian 'persecution had found to be the judgment of other 'divines, and seen to be the practice of other 'churches abroad; and especially of Mr. Calvin and 'his church at Geneva.'

And when there was added to all this the resolution of such a man as Dr. Whitaker, Regius Professor at Cambridge[x], 'Though in case of grown 'persons that are in health, I think dipping to be 'better; yet in the case of infants, and of sickly 'people, I think sprinkling sufficient:'—The inclination of the people, backed with these authorities, carried the practice against the rubric; which still required dipping, except in case of weakness. So that in the latter times of queen Elizabeth, and during the reigns of king James and of king Charles I, very few children were dipped in the font. I have heard of one or two persons now living, who must have been born in those reigns, that they were baptized by dipping in the font; and of one clergyman now living, that has baptized some infants so: but am not certain.

P. S. I have since heard of several. And I myself have had one opportunity of administering baptism so, by the parents' consent. But the children were however all that time carried to the font. As much as to say; the minister is ready to dip the child, if the parents will venture the health of it.

[u] Doctrine of Baptism, ch. x. §. 107. p. 148.

[x] Prælectiones de Sacr. de Baptismo, Q. 1. c. 2. [See 'Gul. 'Whitakeri Prælectiones de Sacramentis in genere,' &c. 4°. Francofurti, 1624, p. 216.]

lake, who wrote in 1645 a pamphlet in-
Infants' Baptism freed from Antichristian-
ys, p. 1, (in answer to his adversary, who
l that infants, pretended to be baptized
inisters of the church, have not true bap-
m, ice they are not dipped, but sprinkled,) 'I
ve been an eyewitness of many infants dipped;
'an ow it to have been the constant practice
'of m v ministers in their places for many years
'together.' And again, p. 4, speaking of the present practice of that time, says; 'Those that dip not
'infants, do not yet use to sprinkle them: there is
'a middle way between these two: I have seen
'several dipped; I never saw nor heard of any
'sprinkled, or (as some of you use to speak) *rus-*
'*tized.*——Our way is not by aspersion, but per-
'fusion; not sprinkling drop by drop, but pouring
'on at once all that the hand contains.' And for sprinkling says; 'I leave them to defend it, that
'use it.'

Of what age Mr. Blake was when he wrote this, I know not; but in a pamphlet which he wrote the year before, viz. 1644, called 'The Birth Privilege[z],' and which he dedicates to his parishioners of Tamworth in Staffordshire, he so speaks as that one may guess him to have been about forty-two years old. He says in the said Dedication, 'I have served 'you for Christ a double apprenticeship of years 'almost complete: which time hath seemed to some 'to have added more than a third to the years of

[z] ['The Birth Privilege; or Covenant-holiness of Believers 'and their issue in the time of the Gospel. Together with the 'right of Infants to Baptism. By Thomas Blake, Master of 'Arts.' 4°. London, 1644, pp. 33.]

'the days of my pilgrimage.' What he means by 'seems to some,' I cannot imagine. But if he at 1644 were about forty-two, and could remember as he says; the dipping of infants must have been pretty ordinary during the former half of king James' reign, if not longer. And for sprinkling, properly called, it seems it was at 1645 just then beginning, and used by very few. It must have begun in the disorderly times after 1641; for Mr. Blake had never used it, nor seen it used.

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But then came the Directory [a], which forbids even the carrying of the child to the font; and says, 'Baptism is to be administered, not in private 'places, or privately,' (these are the men that have since brought baptism in private houses to be so spreading a custom as it is,) 'but in the place of 'public worship, and in the face of the congrega-'tion, &c.—And not in the places where fonts in 'the time of popery were unfitly and superstitiously 'placed.' So (parallel to the rest of their reformations) they reformed the font into a bason. This learned assembly could not remember that fonts to baptize in had been always used by the primitive Christians, long before the beginning of popery, and ever since churches were built: but that sprinkling, for the common use of baptizing, was really introduced (in France first, and then in the other popish countries) in times of popery: and that accordingly all those countries, in which the usurped power of the pope is, or has formerly been owned, have left off dipping of children in the font: but

1544.

[a] [See 'A Directory for the Public Worship of God, &c. to-'gether with an ordinance of Parliament for taking away the 'Book of Common Prayer.' 4°. London, 1644, p. 39, 40, 45.]

other countries in the world (which had garded his authority) do still use it: and ns, except in case of necessity, were never papists, or any other Christians whatsoever, emselves.

use was: the minister continuing in his lesk, the child was brought and held below ; and there was placed for that use a little son of water, about the bigness of a syllabub-pot, into which the minister dipping his fingers, and then holding his hand ove the face of a child, some drops would fall from his fi gers on the child's face. For the Directory says, it is 'not only lawful, but most expedient' to use pouring or sprinkling.

Upon the review of the Common Prayer Book, at the restauration, the church of England did not think fit (however prevalent the custom of sprinkling was) to forego their maxim; that it is most fitting to dip children that are well able to bear it. But they leave it wholly to the judgment of the godfathers and those that bring the child, whether the child may well endure dipping, or not; as they are indeed the most proper judges of that. So the priest is now ordered, 'If the godfathers do certify 'him that the child may well endure it, to dip it in 'the water discreetly and warily. But if they cer- 'tify that the child is weak, it shall suffice to pour 'water upon it.' The difference is only this: by the rubric as it stood before, the priest was to dip, unless there were an averment or allegation of weakness. *Now* he is not to dip, unless there be an averment or certifying of strength sufficient to endure it.

Except such antipædobaptists as do not allow of

affusion in any case, (and I think there are few such but in England,) all the rest of the world will agree that this order is the most unexceptionable of any that could be given; and does keep as close to the primitive way as the coldness of our region, and the tenderness to which infants are now used, will admit. But in the practice, the godfathers take so much advantage of the reference that is made to their judgment, that they never do certify the priest 'that the child may well endure it:' and the priests do now seldom ask that question. And indeed it is needless, because they do always bring the child so dressed in clothes, as to make it plain that they do not intend it shall be dipped. When dipping in the font was in fashion, they brought the child wrapped up in such a sort of clothing as could presently and without trouble be taken off, and put on again. I think they called it a *chrysom*[b], or some such name. And besides, the fonts

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[b] [The *chrisome* (or more properly *chrisome-cloth*, being that which is worn specially for the purpose of receiving the baptismal *chrism* or anointing) denotes strictly a piece of white linen or cloth, in which infants were robed, immediately after being baptized, and before they were anointed. The rubric in the first Service-book of Edward VIth, printed 1549, directs that at the aforesaid period of the baptismal ceremony, 'the 'minister shall put upon hym [the child] hys whyte vesture 'commonly called the *chrisome*, and say, "Take this whyte 'vesture for a token of the innocency, which by God's grace 'in this holy sacramente of baptisme is geven unto thee; and 'for a sygne whereby thou arte admonished, so long as thou 'livest, to geve thyself to innocencie of living, that after thys 'transitory lyfe thou mayest be partaker of the life everlasting. 'Amen."

A subsequent rubric enjoins, that the minister 'shall com-'maunde that the *Crisomes* bee broughte to the churche, and

that have been built since the times I spoke of, are, many of them, built so small and bason-like, that a child cannot well be dipped in them, if it were desired.

Since the times that dipping of infants has been generally left off, many learned men in several coun-

'delivered to the priestes after the accustomed manner, at the 'purificacyon of the mother of everye chylde.'

N. B. This latter clause will explain the sentence quoted by Nares in his Glossary, out of an old play, called the City Match:

'The preacher
'is sent for to a churching, and doth ask
'if you be ready: *he shall lose*, he says,
'*his chrysome* else.'

This ceremony being abolished at the revisal of our Liturgy in 1551, the foregoing rubrics do not appear in the edition of 1552, nor in any subsequent ones.

It is obvious that the *chrysome* is the 'chrismale,' 'vestis 'chrismalis,' or 'pannus chrismalis' of the Romish Liturgy; from which indeed, the name, the custom, and in consequence the rubrics, were derived. The following directions, given to the baptismal sponsors, in an old 'Manuale secundum usum 'Ecclesiæ Sarum,' are curious in themselves, and to the point: 'Godfaders and Godmoders of this chylde; we charge you that 'ye charge the fader and the moder to kepe it from fyer and 'water, and other perilles, to the age of vii yeres. And that ye 'lerne, or set to lerne, the *Paternoster*, *Ave Maria*, and *Credo*, 'after the lawe of all holy churche, and in all godly haste to be 'confermed of my lorde of the diocese, or of his depute; and 'that the moder bringe agen the *crysom* at hyr puryfycation: 'and wasche youre hande or ye departe the churche.' [fol. Antwerpiæ (circa 1530) fol. 296.]

A *chrysome-child*, and sometimes simply 'a *chrysome*,' was anciently used to denote a child which died within the first month. And Nares informs us, that in some parts of England, the metaphor is extended to a calf killed before it be a month old, which is familiarly termed *a chrysome calf*.]

tries have endeavoured to retrieve the use of it: but more in England than any where else in proportion. CHAP. IX. Year after the apostles.

Sotus gives his opinion[c], that 'baptism ought 'still to be given by dipping; so as that it is not 'lawful to give it otherwise, unless for some neces-'sary, or creditable, and reasonable cause.' But Vasquez[d] takes him up for this with some anger; and he maintains that nowadays, since it is grown the common custom, affusion is perfectly as well as dipping. This he says of affusion, or 'pouring on 'of water:' but for sprinkling of water, he says, 1495. 'That is not at all in use, and so cannot be prac-'tised without sin, unless for some particular cause.' Estius also does much commend dipping: but now that the other is the common custom, would have nothing altered.

In England Mr. Mede shewed his inclination to retrieve the ancient custom plain enough, (indeed he carried the argument for it too far,) when he said[e], that 'there was no such thing as sprinkling, 'or ῥαντισμὸς, used in baptism in the apostles' times, 'nor many ages after them.' If he takes sprinkling strictly, (as it is distinguished from pouring on of water,) it may be true; but if he say so of pouring water, it is not true, unless he limit it to ordinary cases.

Bishop Taylor, in his Rule of Conscience, and

[c] In 4. Dist. 3. q. unica, Art. 7. [See Dominici a Soto, Segobiensis Theologi, in quartum Sententiarum commentarii, folio. Duaci, 1613.]

[d] In tertiam partem Thomæ, Disput. 145. cap. 2.

[e] Diatribe on Titus iii. 5. [Works, p. 63. folio.]

. Dan. Rogers[f] in his Treatise of Sacra-
ts, have said so much on this head, that
ıvers the antipædobaptist catches hold of their
rds, and brings them among his authorities[g], that
baptize is nothing else but to dip. But he is
rced to curtail and misrepresent their words; for
ey do both of them in their own words (which he
ıas left out) own, that baptism by affusion is true
ıaptism. But so much is true, that they do both
of them plead hard that it ught not to be used but
in case of necessity, and that the ministers should
in no other case dispense with the act of immersion.
And indeed, as the rubric then stood, it required
immersion positively, unless the child were weak.
Here by the way I cannot but take notice how much
trouble such an adventurous author as this Danvers
is able to give to such a careful and exact answerer
as Mr. Walker. Danvers does in this place deal
with above twenty other writers after the same rate
as he does with the two I mentioned; viz. Scapula,
Stephanus, Pasor, Vossius, Leigh, Casaubon, Beza,
Chamier, Hammond, Cajetan, Musculus, Piscator,
Calvin, Keckerman, Diodatus, Grotius, Davenant,
Tilenus, Dr. Cave, Wal. Strabo, and archbishop
Tillotson. He does in the space of twelve pages[h]
quote all these, in such words as if they had made
dipping to be of the essence of baptism. Mr. Walker
shews that he has abused every one of them; by

[f] [See a Treatise of the two Sacraments of the Gospel, Baptisme and the Supper of the Lord. By D. R. [Daniel Rogers]. 4to. London, 1633. Again, third edition, 4to. 1636.]

[g] Treatise of Baptism, part ii. ch. iv.

[h] Ibid. from page 192, to page 204.

affixing to some of them words that they never said, by adding to others, by altering and mistranslating others, and by curtailing the words of the rest. But what a trouble is this, to go upon such a man's errand from book to book, search the chapters, (which he commonly names wrong,) recite the words first as he quotes them, and then as they really are in the book? This cost Mr. Walker three large chapters [i]. And what would it have been to answer the whole book, which is all of a piece? This is the book that is so much handed about among the antipædobaptists of England.

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But to go on to mention some more learned men of England that have wished for the restoring of the custom of dipping such infants as are in health. Sir Norton Knatchbull says thus [k]; 'With leave be 'it spoken; I am still of opinion that it would be 'more for the honour of the church, and for the '[peace and] security of religion, if the old custom 'could conveniently be restored.' Yet he there declares himself fully satisfied with the lawfulness of the other way, so far as that nobody ought to doubt of its being true and full baptism. For avoiding the danger of cold, he thinks it advisable to restore another ancient custom also, of baptizing only at certain times of the year, except such infants as are like to die. But infants were, as I shewed before [l], by that ancient custom excepted from any obliga-

[i] [See Walker's Doctrine of Baptisms, 8vo. 1678.] ch. xi. xii. xiii.

[k] Annot. on 1 Pet. iii. 20. [See 'Animadversiones in libros 'Novi Testamenti,' &c. 8vo. 1659. The word *pacem* does not occur in the passage.]

[l] Part i. ch. xvii. §. 3.

y till those times. And Easter is in our very warm season. And there is nothing than for infants to die suddenly.

lker has taken the most pains (I may to say it) of any man in the world, to shew m by pouring, or sprinkling, is true bap- is valid: and that baptism so given ought to be reiterated: and that all ages of the church ve been of that opinion: and that the antipedo- baptists have no reason to separate on that account. And yet in the same book he does in several places declare, that he thinks the other way more advisable for the ordinary use. In one of the chapters[m] which I mentioned, where he is vindicating the words of Mr. Dan. Rogers from the force which Mr. Danvers had put on them; and where he confesses of Mr. Rogers thus much; 'Mr. Rogers was 'for retrieving the use of dipping, as witnessed to 'by antiquity, approved by Scripture, required by 'the church, (as then it was, with not so much ap- 'pearance of liberty in the case granted to the min- 'ister as now is,) and symbolical with the things 'signified in baptism:'—he adds his own opinion in these words; 'Which I could wish as well as, and as 'heartily as he, in order to the making of peace in 'the church, if that would do it.' And in the next paragraph; 'If I may speak my thoughts, I believe 'the ministers of the nation would be heartily glad 'if the people would desire, or be but willing to 'have their infants dipped, after the ancient manner 'both in this and in other churches; and bring 'them to baptism in such a condition as that they 'might be totally dipped, without fear of being

[m] Chap. xi. §. 52, 53.

'destroyed.' And in the conclusion of that book [n] he thus bespeaks the antipædobaptists; 'And as some 'learned persons, who have defended the lawfulness 'of sprinkling, have yet in some respects preferred 'dipping before it: so, though I blame your hold- 'ing an indispensable necessity of it, &c. Yet in 'order to the peace of the church by your reunion 'with it, and the saving of your souls by rescuing 'you from under the guilt of schism, I could wish 'the practice of it retrieved into use again; so far 'as possibly might be consistent with decency of 'baptizing, and safety to the baptized.' He speaks often to the same purpose in his Modest Plea. CHAP. IX. Year after the apostles.

Dr. Towerson, in his Explication of the Catechism [o], having recited the arguments for immersion, says, 'How to take off the force of these argu- 'ments altogether, is a thing I mean not to consider; 'partly because our church seems to persuade such 'an immersion, and partly because I cannot but 'think the forementioned arguments to be so far of 'force, as to evince the necessity thereof, where 'there is not some greater necessity to occasion an 'alteration of it.'

Dr. Whitby says [p], 'It were to be wished that 'this custom [of immersion] might be again of 'general use; and aspersion only permitted, as of 'old, in case of the *clinici*, or in present danger of 'death.'

[n] Chap. xvii. p. 293.

[o] Of Baptism, p. 20, 21, 22. [See a work entitled, 'Of the 'Sacrament of Baptism, in pursuance of an explication of the 'Catechism of the church of England,' by Gabriel Towerson, D. D. 8vo. London, 1687, part iii. page 58.]

[p] Comment. on Romans vi. 4.

e (and possibly many more) have openly ared their thoughts concerning the present cus- And abundance of others have so largely and ously proved that a total immersion was, as . Cave says [q], 'the almost constant and universal custom of the primitive times,' that they have suffi- ntly intimated their inclinations to be for it now. that no man in this nation, who is dissatisfied with the other way, or does wish, or is but willing, that his child should be baptized by dipping, need in the least to doubt, but that any minister in this church would, according to the present direction of the rubric, readily comply with his desire, and, as Mr. Walker says, be glad of it.

And as for the danger of the infants catching cold by dipping, sir John Floyer has in a late book [r] endeavoured to shew, by reasons taken from the nature of our bodies, from the rules of medicine, from modern experiences, and from ancient history, that washing or dipping infants in cold water is, generally speaking, not only safe, but very useful: and that though no such religious rite as baptism had been instituted, yet reason and experience would have directed people to use cold bathing both of themselves and their children: and that it has in all former ages so directed them. For (besides that the Jews by God's law used it on many occasions, and the Christians made it the far most usual way of their baptism) he shews that all civilised nations, the Ægyptians, Greeks, Romans, &c., made frequent

[q] Primitive Christianity, part i. chap. 10. [8vo. 1675.]

[r] Of cold baths. [See ΨΥΧΡΟΛΟΥΣΙΑ, or the History of Cold Bathing, both ancient and modern: by Sir John Floyer.' Third edition, 8vo. London, 1709.]

infancy. Neither was there ever an antipædo-
aptist in England, as I shewed in the last chapter,
ll this custom of sprinkling children, instead of
pping them, in the ordinary baptisms, had for
me time prevailed.

Europe; for it is used ordinarily nowhere
e Greek church, in all the branches of it.
use immersion; and they hardly count a
cept in case of sickness, well baptized with-
And so do all other Christians in the world,
e Latins. That which I hinted before, is a
does not fail in any particular that I know
iz. ll those nations of Christians that do now,
or formerly d submit to he authority of the bi-
shop of Rome, do ordinar baptize their infants by
pouring or sprinkling. And though the English re-
ceived not this custom till after the decay of popery;
yet they have since received it from such neighbour
nations as had begun it in the times of the pope's
power. But all other Christians in the world, who
never owned the pope's usurped power, do, and ever
did, dip their infants in the ordinary use.

And if we take the division of the world from the three main parts of it; all the Christians in Asia, all in Africa, and about one third part of Europe, are of the last sort: in which third part of Europe, are comprehended the Christians of Græcia, Thracia, Servia, Bulgaria, Rascia, Walachia, Moldavia, Russia Nigra, &c.; and even the Muscovites, who, if coldness of the country will excuse, might plead for a dispensation with the most reason of any. Dr. Crull gives this account of them[t]; 'the priest takes the child 'stark naked into his arms, and dips him three 'times into the water, &c.—The water—is never 'warmed over the fire, though the cold be never so 'excessive: but they put it sometimes in some warm 'place or other, to take off a little of the cold.' If

[t] State of Muscovy, vol. i. chap. 11. p. 193, 194.

they warmed it more, I do not see where were the hurt. The Latins, that stayed behind at the council of Florence, do determine[s] it to be indifferent, 'whether baptism be administered in warm or in 'cold water.' And an archbishop of Samos[t], who has wrote the history of that island, says, at p. 45, that they use hot [or warm] water. CHAP. IX. Year after the apostles. 1339.

We have no reason to think that the Muscovites do submit to this, as to a hardship put upon them by the Christian religion; for they commonly, when they come sweating out of a hot stove, do suddenly throw themselves into cold water, and think it medicinal so to do, as the said doctor relates. And the neighbour nations thereabouts, even those that are not Christians, do ordinarily put their infant children into the coldest water they can get, for health's sake, and to harden them. For so the same author tells of the Crim Tartars[u], that 'the mothers do use 'to bathe their infants, once a day at least, in cold 'water, wherein a little salt is dissolved, to make 'them hardy.' And the success answers; for these are one of the healthiest, hardiest, and most vigorous nations in the world.

But whereas the said doctor says[x], that 'the 'Muscovites glory that they are the only true Chris-'tians now in the world; forasmuch as they are

[s] Cap. de Unione Jacobinorum et Armenorum. [See the decree of pope Eugenius the fourth, addressed to the Armenians, at page 1056 of vol. 31 of the councils edited by Mansi.]

[t] [See 'A Description of the present State of Samos, Nicaria, 'Patmos, and Mount Athos. By Joseph Georgirenes, archbi-'shop of Samos, now living in London, translated,' &c. 8vo. London, 1678. The book contains a Greek dedication by the archbishop, to James duke of York.]

[u] Chap. vii. p. 112. [x] Chap. xi, at the beginning, p. 188.

whereas others have been only sprinkled; which is the reason they allege for rebaptizing all ch, of what persuasion soever, that embrace their on:'—This is neither consistent with the ac- unt given by himself in the same chapter[y] of their ptizations; that 'even Muscovites, who having 'changed their religion in another country, are 'willing to return to their own communion, must 'first be rebaptized:' nor with the account of the practice of other Greek Christians, who do all baptize ordinarily by immersion as well as the Muscovites: nor with the account given by other writers of the practice of the Muscovites themselves. For though Mr. Daillé[z] do say much the same of them as Dr. Crull does here, (he does not say quite the same: he says, 'the Muscovites say, that the Latins 'are not duly and rightly baptized.)' Yet other writers say, that the Muscovites themselves do in case of the weakness of the child baptize by affusion. Joannes Fabri[a], in an epistle that he has written purposely of these people's religion, says, 'if the 'child be strong, he is thrice plunged all over. 'Otherwise he is wetted with the water. But this 'last is seldom used:' 'conspersio enim minus suffi- 'ciens judicatur,' 'for they count sprinkling not so 'well [or not so sufficient].' And another author

[y] [Page 194.]

[z] Lib. 2. de usu Patrum, p. 148, [or p. 329, of the edition 4°. Genevæ, 1656.]

[a] [See a work by Johannes Fabri, an archbishop of Vienna, entitled 'Moscovitarum Religio,' printed at Basle in 1526, at Spire in 1582, and to be found in the collection of 'Rerum 'Muscoviticarum Auctores Varii,' folio, Francofurti, 1600. See p. 136, of this last edition.]

quoted by Mr. Walker out of Purchas' Pilgrims, part iii. page 229 [b], says, that in such a case a pot of warm water is poured on the child's head. And another, 'the priest pours a whole gallon of water 'upon the child,' &c.

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Since the writing of this, I find that Mr. Russen [c], ch. 5, (quoting for it *Alvarez*, ch. 5,) says, 'the 'Abassens baptize in the church-porch, without 'fonts, with a pot full of water only.' I know not what credit is to be given to this. I know that Brerewood [d] does often note Alvarez, as an unfaithful relater. And Brerewood himself, though he say nothing of the manner of their baptizing infants (only that they do it on the fortieth day for a male, and the eightieth for a female child,) yet speaking of their yearly baptizing themselves on twelfth-day, (not using it as a sacrament, but as a customary memorial of Christ's baptism on that day,) says, that they do it in lakes or ponds, ch. 23, which makes that which Alvarez says very improbable.

III. What was just now mentioned of the Muscovites baptizing *stark naked*, and dipping *three times*, is perfectly agreeable to the ancient practice in both the usages. The ancient Christians, when they were baptized by immersion, were all baptized naked; whether they were men, women, or children. Vossius [e] has collected several proofs of this: which I shall omit, because it is a clear case. The English

[b] [Folio, London, 1625.]

[c] [This passage of Mr. Russen is quoted in Stennet's answer to him, p. 129.]

[d] ['Enquiries concerning Languages and Religion,' &c. 4°. 1614.]

[e] De Baptismo, Disput. 1. cap. 6, 7, 8.

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antipædobaptists need not have made so great an outcry against Mr. Baxter, for his saying that they baptized naked: for if they had, it had been no more than the primitive Christians did. They thought it better represented the putting off the old man, and also the nakedness of Christ on the cross: moreover, as baptism is a washing, they judged it should be the washing of the body, not of the clothes.

They took great care for preserving the modesty of any woman that was to be baptized. There was none but women came near or in sight till she was undressed, and her body in the water: then the priest came, and putting her head also under water, used the form of baptism. Then he departed, and the women took her out of the water, and clothed her again in white garments.

There is an account given by Sozomen[f] of an insult made by the soldiers in the great church at Constantinople, against St. Chrysostom and his
303. adherents: and how in Easter-eve they rushed in armed: and he adds, 'there was a great tumult at 'the font, the women shrieking in a fright, and the 'children crying: the priests and deacons were 'beaten, and forced to run away with their vest-'ments on. What else must needs happen in such 'a confusion, they that have been baptized do 'apprehend; but I shall not express it, lest some 'that are not Christians do light upon my book.'

But St. Chrysostom himself, in a letter of complaint of this matter to Innocent then bishop of Rome, describes the foulness of the outrage more particularly: 'The women who had undressed them-

[f] Hist. Eccles. lib. viii. cap. 21.

'selves in order to be baptized, were forced by the 'fright of this violence to run away naked; not 'being permitted in that amazement to provide for 'the modesty and credit of their sex. And many of 'them were also wounded: the font was stained 'with blood, and the holy waters of it dyed with 'a red colour.' CHAP. IX. Year after the apostles.

IV. The way of trine immersion, or plunging the head of the person three times into the water, was the general practice of all antiquity. Tertullian, in a dispute against Praxeas, who held but one person in the Trinity, uses this among other arguments[g]; our Saviour commanded the apostles, *that they should baptize unto the Father, and unto the Son, and unto the Holy Spirit*; 'not unto one person, for we are 'not plunged once, but three times; once at the 'naming of each name.' And the fiftieth [alias 42] of those canons that are very ancient, though without reason called *apostolic*, orders any bishop or presbyter that does not use the trine immersion in baptism to be deposed.

The ancients do themselves own that there is no command in Scripture for this: yet they speak of it as brought into use by the apostles. And it is common with them to urge this custom and some others, as instances that some rites or orders are derived from the apostles' practice, and yet not set down in Scripture. Tertullian[h], arguing against some that pleaded, that 'in all pretence of tradition, 'one must produce some written authority,' gives an answer, which I shall here recite at large, because he instances in this and several other customs then received.

[g] Cap. 26. [h] De Corona Militis, ch. 1, 2, 3.

They dipped the Head three times.

try then, whether no tradition ought
owed that is not written: and I shall
nt that this need not to be allowed, if
contrary be not evinced by the examples of
veral other customs, which without the authority
ny cripture are approved, only on the account
t were first delivered, and have ever since
been r d.

'Now to begin with b ism. When we come
'to the water, we do there (and we do the same
'also, a little before, in the congregation) under the
'hand of the pastor make a profession that we do
'renounce the Devil, and his pomp, and his angels.
'Then we are three times plunged into the water:
'and we answer some few words more than those
'which our Saviour in the gospel has enjoined.
'When we are taken up out of the water, we taste
'a mixture of milk and honey. And from that day
'we abstain a whole week from bathing ourselves,
'which otherwise we use every day.

'The sacrament of the Eucharist, which our Lord
'celebrated at meal-time, and ordered all to take;
'we receive in our assemblies before day: and never
'but from the hands of the pastor.

'We give oblations every year for [or in com-
'memoration of] the dead on the day of their
'martyrdom. We count it an unfitting thing to
'keep any fasts on the Lord's day, or to kneel at
'our prayers on that day. The same liberty we
'take all the time from Easter to Pentecost.

'We are troubled at it, if any of our bread or
'wine fall to the ground. At every setting out,
'or entry on business; whenever we come in or go
'out from any place; when we dress for a journey;

'when we go into a bath; when we go to meat; CHAP. IX.
'when the candles are brought in; when we lie
'down, or sit down; and whatever business we Year after the apostles.
'have; we make on our foreheads the sign of the
'cross.

'If you search in the Scriptures for any command
'for these and such like usages, you shall find none.
'Tradition will be urged to you as the ground of
'them; custom as the confirmer of them; and our
'religion teaches to observe them.'

Of the oblations and prayers which they made for [or in commemoration of] the dead; as I said before in the first part, chap. xx. §. 3. that they were nothing of the nature of the popish ones; so here it appears: for they used them for martyrs themselves. And though we see here, that the papists were not the first that used the sign of the cross; yet they are the first that ever taught that it is to be worshipped.

In an epistle of St. Hierome in form of a dia- 378.
logue [i], one of the parties makes the same use of the same instance of trine immersion, as Tertullian does here: saying thus of the custom of confirmation after baptism, which he there proves by Scripture, but adds; 'And if there were no authority of Scrip-
'ture for it; the consent of the whole world in
'that matter would obtain the force of a precept.
'For many other things which are by tradition ob-
'served in the church, have got authority as if they
'were written laws: as, in the font of baptism, *ter*
'*caput mergitare*, to plunge the head *thrice* under
'water,' &c. St. Basil speaks just after the same 360.

[i] Dialogus adversus Luciferianos. [Sect. 8. Op. tom. ii. p. 180. edit. Vallarsii.]

of the same thing[k]. And St. Chrysostom[l] r Lord has delivered to us one baptism by mmersions.'

nomians had the oddest way of baptizing t e was heard of. For besides that they dif- ed f all other Christians in the words used at ptism, one sect of them baptizing only in the ne of Christ, as I said[m]; another sect, instead of saying, 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, 'and of the Holy Spirit,' expressed their own impious opinions in these words[n]; 'In the name of 'the uncreated God, and in the name of his created 'Son, and in the name of the sanctifying Spirit, 'created by the Son, who is himself created.' Besides this, their manner of baptizing was to plunge the person but once into the water: and that not all his body neither. For they said, all the parts of the body below the waist are abominable, and must not touch the water: so they used to uncover the person to the waist; and then holding his heels upward, and his head downward, they dipped him into the font as far as the waist. They continued this custom till a ridiculous accident happened[o]: a heavy and unwieldy man coming to be baptized, they that were to hold him with his head downward let him fall, and he broke his head against the bottom of the font. To prevent which mis-

[k] Lib. de Spiritu Sancto, ch. 27. [Sect. 66. Op. tom. iii. p. 54. edit. Benedict. 1721.]

[l] Homil. de Fide. [tom. vii. p. 290. edit. Savill. tom. ix. p. 854. ed. Montfaucon.]

[m] Chap. viii. §. 6.

[n] Epiphanius, Hæres. 76.

[o] Theodoret. Hæret. Fab. lib. iv. cap. de Eunomio.

chance for the future, they invented another way. It was much the same as was one of the devices with which the Dutch are said to have tortured the English at Amboyna: only the muffler was larger. They tied one end of it about his waist, and turning the other open end upwards, they poured in water till it covered the head of the person. So it pleases God to suffer heretics to be infatuated, that must have newfangled ways. CHAP. IX. Year after the apostles.

The Catholics, though they judged the trine immersion to have been in use from the beginning, yet since it is not found to be enjoined by Christ nor his apostles, did not count it absolutely necessary to baptism. For about the year 590, some Spanish 590. bishops sent to Gregory, bishop of Rome, for his advice. They told him their custom was to put the head of the baptized but once under the water: but that some Arians in that country kept up the custom of three immersions: and that they made a wicked advantage of it, by persuading the people that thereby was signified that there are three substances in the Trinity, into which they were separately baptized. Gregory makes them answer[r]; that though the custom of the church of Rome and other churches was three immersions, yet he in that case would advise them to keep to their present custom: that 'in the same faith different usages of 'the church do no hurt: that whereas there is in 'the three persons but one substance, there could be 'no blame in dipping the infant either once or 'thrice. For that by three immersions the three

[r] Epist. ad Leandrum Episcopum Hispalensem, lib. i. ch. 41. [See Gregorii Opera; also the Councils, tom. ix. p. 1059. edit. Mansi.]

or by one, the singularity of the substance presented. That if they should now on a n take up the other custom, the heretics would boast that they were come over to their side,' &c. So the Spaniards kept to the use of one mersion for some time. For forty years after, it confirmed in one of their councils[q]. But Walafridus Strabo says[r], that after a while 'the old way 'prevailed.'

The schoolmen among the papists, though they say that either way may do, yet speak of trine immersion, where immersion is used, as much the more fitting. And for the protestants, Vossius says[s]. 'What son of the church will not willingly hold to 'that custom which the ancient church practised all 'over the world, except Spain? &c. Besides, at pre-'sent the trine immersion is used in all countries: 'so that the custom cannot be changed without an 'affectation of novelty, and scandal given to the 'weak.' He means all countries where immersion is used.

V. Of the circumstances that anciently attended baptism, some are mentioned by Tertullian in the place last recited. One is the signing of the forehead with the sign of the cross. This is spoken of by all the ancient writers as used by Christians

[q] Concil Tolet. 4. Can. 5. [or capit. 6. in Mansi's Councils, tom. x. p. 618, 619.]

[r] De incrementis Eccles. ch. 26. [Printed at Venice, 8vo. 1572: and in the collection published by Ferrarius under the title 'De Catholicæ Ecclesiæ divinis Officiis ac ministeriis vari 'vetustorum fere omnium Ecclesiæ patrum ac Scriptorum libri.' folio, Romæ, 1591. p. 352.]

[s] De Baptismo, Disput. 2. Thes. 4.

upon all occasions. They that nowadays are against the use of it at baptism do observe, that though the fathers do often mention this custom, yet none of them do speak particularly of its being used at baptism. I gave an instance, I think, plain enough to the contrary, in the first part, chap. xiv. §. 5. And besides, when they say, as Tertullian here does, that it was used on every occasion that was never so little solemn; they I think sufficiently intimate its use at baptism, which is the most solemn act of a Christian's whole life. Besides, that Tertullian speaking of baptism, says, *Caro signatur, ut anima muniatur.* CHAP. IX. Year after the apostles. 280.

St. Basil mentions this custom of Christians at the same place[t], where he mentions that of trine immersion. And St. Cyprian[u] having occasion to recite that text, Ezek. ix. 4, 5, 6. where the executioners of God's wrath are commanded to *slay all, old and young, maids and little children, that had not the mark upon their foreheads*, applies it to the Christians, but says, it signifies that none now can escape but those only that are *renati et signo Christi signati*, 'baptized and signed with Christ's mark.' And he frequently in other places speaks of it as a thing used by all Christians. And Rufinus says[x], 'it was the custom for every one at the end of the 'creed, *frontem signaculo contingere*, to make the 260. 150.

[t] De Spiritu Sancto, ch. 27. [Op. tom. iii. p. 54.]

[u] Ad Demetrianum, prope finem. [Cypriani Opera, p. 223. ed. Benedictin.]

[x] Apol. 1. statim ab initio. [Namely, the first book of Rufinus' Invectives against S. Jerome. See these in tom. ii. page 583, &c. (especially sect. 4.) of Jerome's works edited by Vallarsius.]

on his forehead:' and we know that every
ated the Creed at his baptism, either by
nself or his sponsors, as Rufinus himself in his
plication of the Creed' mentions, and calls it the
ncient custom.' [Sect. 3.]

It was a noble thing that they designed by this
dge of the cross. It was to declare that they
ould not be ashamed of the cross of Christ: never
be abashed at the flouts of the heathens, who ob-
jected to them that the person in whom they trusted
as their God had been executed for a malefactor:
never be scandalized if it came to be their fortune to
suffer it themselves. On the contrary, they volun-
tarily owned it as their share and allotment in this
world. This was according to our Saviour's rule,
'to deny themselves, to take up their cross, and
'follow him.' He that does this with a firm reso-
lution is the man that has overcome this world.

VI. Another custom that Tertullian instances in, is, the giving to the new baptized person a mixture of 'milk and honey.' There is none of the ceremonial circumstances that accompanied baptism, of which so early mention is made, as there is of this, if Barnabas' epistle be so ancient as learned men do think. For as Tertullian one hundred years after the apostles here speaks of it as a thing generally and constantly used; so it is also plainly intimated in that epistle. Which because the interpreters of it have not minded, nor have taken any notice that the place does at all refer to baptism; I shall recite it something at large: and it will appear that this custom used at the Christian baptism gives some
to it, which otherwise seems to have none

He had been shewing that many sayings of the Old Testament do in an allegorical way refer to the church of Christians that was to be. He instances for one in that description given by Moses of the promised land, where he calls it *a land flowing with milk and honey.* To explain how this belongs to the Christians, he says, chap. vi[y], Ἐπεὶ οὖν ἀνακαινίσας ἡμᾶς ἐν τῇ ἀφέσει τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν, ἐποίησεν ἡμᾶς ἄλλον τύπον ὡς παιδίον ἔχειν τὴν ψυχὴν, ὡς ἂν καὶ ἀναπλασσομένους [l. ἀναπλασσόμενος] αὐτὸς ἡμᾶς, &c. 'Since God having at the forgiveness of our sins [i. e. 'at baptism] renewed us, has caused us to have our 'hearts in another form as the heart of a child, 'just as if he had formed us anew, &c., therefore 'the prophet thus foretold it; *Enter into the land 'flowing with milk and honey, and rule in it.* Ἰδοὺ 'οὖν ἡμεῖς ἀνεπλάσμεθα, &c. *Behold then we are 'formed anew.* As also he speaks by another pro- 'phet, *Behold, says the Lord, I will take from them,* 'that is, from those whom the Spirit of the Lord 'foresaw, *their hearts of stone, and I will put into 'them hearts of flesh.*——Wherefore we are they 'whom he has brought into that good land. But 'what means the milk and honey? Because as a 'child is nourished first with milk, and then with 'honey; so we, being kept alive with the belief of 'his promises, and the word of his gospel, shall live,' &c. To the same purpose he speaks of baptism as a new formation, chap. xvi.

CHAP. IX.

Year after the apostles.

The coherence which he seems to mean, is thus. The Christian baptism does put us into a new state; by God's forgiving us all that is past, and giving us

y [See S. Barnabæ Epist. apud Patres Apostol. edit. Cotelerii, fol. 1698, p. 18.]

arts, we are in the state of children new
rn. ilk and honey (which are therefore given
r baptism) being food proper for children, and
the things by which Moses did characterise
promised land; that character of it does typify
true land of promise, to the enjoyment whereof
istians are now by baptism called.

custom of giving milk and honey to the new-
baptized person, whether he were a grown man or
380. an infant, continued down to St. Hierome's time; for
he mentions it[z]. And how much longer, I know
not: for I remember no later mention of it. It has
however for a long time been forborne. It is natural
to suppose, that this, being only an emblem to sig-
nify that the new-baptized person is as a new-born
babe, was left off at such time when, the world
being come into the church, there were hardly
any more baptisms but of babes in a proper sense,
who needed no such representation to signify their
infancy.

It was in those first times of general use among
the heretics, as well as catholics. For Tertullian
100. objecting to Marcion[a], that his Christ, how much
soever he undervalued the God that made the world,
yet was forced to make use of his creatures even in
his religious offices, says, 'he does not, for all that,
'reject the water of the Creator, with which he
'washes his disciples; nor his oil, with which he
'anoints them: *Nec mellis et lactis societatem, qua*
60. '*infantat*: nor the mixture of milk and honey, with
'which he enters them as infants: nor his bread, &c.

[z] Adversus Luciferianos, [Op. tom. ii. edit. Vallars.]
[a] Contra Marcion. lib. i. cap. 14.

'being forced in his own sacraments to make use 'of the beggarly gifts of the Creator.' CHAP. IX.

VII. The white garment, in which the new-baptized persons were clothed, is not mentioned, that I know of, by any of the earliest writers. Cyril [b] mentions it; and in the after-times there is much said about it. By it they signified that they were now 'washed from their sins in the blood of the 'Lamb, had put on Christ, were become children of 'the light and of the day; and resolved to keep 'themselves unspotted from the world.' They wore this for a week: and then it was laid up as an evidence against them, if they ever revolted from that holy faith and profession. This was used in the case of infants as well as of grown persons. I gave an instance before [c]. Year after the apostles. 250.

VIII. There were in some churches two anointings used at baptism. One, of the naked body with oil just before the immersion. Of this St. Cyril speaks, *Catech. Mystag.* 2, and the author of *Quæstiones a Gentibus Propositæ* [d], *Q.* 137; and St. Chrysostom, *Hom.* 6. *in Epist. ad Coloss.* 250. 290.

The other, which was universally used, and is mentioned by the more ancient writers, was after the baptism, with a rich ointment or chrism. I observed before [e], that the first mention we have of this

[b] Cateches. Mystagog. 4. [apud Cyrilli Hierosolym. Opera, p. 322. edit. Benedict. fol. Paris. 1720.]

[c] Part i. ch. xviii. §. 1.

[d] [See Quæstiones et Responsiones ad Orthodoxos, a treatise formerly attributed to Justin Martyr, and printed with his works; viz. at p. 501. of the Benedictine edition, fol. Paris, 1742.]

[e] Chap. v. §. 1.

was the use of it by the Valentinian he-
ics; who, as Irenæus tells us[f], 'anointed the
ptized person with balsam; and said, This oint-
ment is a type of that sweetness which surpasses
ll thi gs.' But though this be something an-
nter than any mention of it as used among the
tholics; yet it is plain that it was also used by
em generally about the same time: because au-
thors a little after this do speak of it as an unques-
100. tioned custom. Tertullian recites it thus[g]; 'Then
'when we come out of the water, we are anointed
'with a blessed [or consecrated] ointment, accord-
'ing to that ancient rite by which men used to be
'anointed for the priest's office, with oil out of a
'horn; ever since the time that Aaron was anointed
'by Moses: so that Christ himself has his name
'from chrism [or unction]:' and a little after;
'then we have the imposition of hands on us, which
'calls down and invites the Holy Spirit.' And St.
150. Cyprian thus[h]; 'The baptized person must be anoint-
'ed also; that by having the chrism, that is, the
267. 'anointing, he may be the anointed of God.' And
in the council of Laodicea the forty-eighth canon is,
'Baptized persons must after their baptism receive
'the holy anointing,' &c. In a word; there is no-
thing more frequently mentioned in antiquity than
this anointing and laying on of the hands of the bi-
shop, in order to implore the graces of the Holy
278. Spirit on the baptized. And yet St. Hierome, when

[f] Lib. iii. cap. 2. [This reference is undoubtedly wrong: the passage quoted occurs in book i. chap. 21, [alias 18.] sect. 3.—p. 96 of the Benedictine edition.]

[g] De Baptismo, cap. 7. [h] Epist. 70. ad Januarium.

he is in one of his mounds, says he. 'We find this done CHAP. IX.
'in many places, more for the credit of the epi- 'Year after the apo-
'scopal office, than for any necessity of the precept.' stles.

The parts of the body that were anointed, were not in all churches the same. In the church of Jerusalem it was the forehead, (which was ever in all churches one of the places,) and the ears, the nostrils, and the breast: as appears by the third of St. Cyril's Mystical Catechisms[k]. 250.

The chrism was used presently after the baptism: and so was the laying on of hands, if the person were adult, and the baptizer were a bishop. But if the person were an infant, the laying on of hands was deferred till he came of age, with his own mouth to ratify the profession made at baptism. And though the person were adult; yet if it was only a deacon or a presbyter that baptized him, the laying on of hands was ordinarily reserved for the bishop to do: according to that example of the church at Jerusalem, that having heard that many people at Samaria had been converted and baptized by Philip, who was but a deacon, sent unto them *Peter and John. Then laid they their hands on them: and they received the Holy Ghost.*

The council of Eliberis [illegible] that if a layman or a [illegible] in time of necessity given baptism: the [illegible] be brought to the bishop for [illegible]. But there seems to suppose, that if the [illegible] byter: because [illegible]

[illegible]

position too, rather than the party die with-
t it.

was the custom of the church of Rome, that if
baptizer were under the degree of a bishop, he
uld anoint the other parts aforementioned, but
t the forehead: and the anointing of that was re-
ved for the bishop to do, when he laid on hands, as
noted before[n] out of pope Innocent. But the first
ouncil of Orange allows of but one anointing of
the baptized, and that to be used presently after the
baptism. 'But if any one,' say they[o], 'by reason of
'any accident was not anointed at his baptism; then
'the bishop shall be advised of it when he comes to
'confirm him. For we have but one benediction of
'chrism. Not pretending to set a rule to any, but
'that the anointing may be esteemed necessary.'

And in the church of Rome, though the ordinary rule were, that none but the bishop should give the chrism on the forehead, as I said; yet in case of scarcity of bishops, or of their negligence in performing their visitations to do this, it was allowed
490. to presbyters to do it. For Gregory[p] the Great, in the ninth epistle of his third book, says, that 'pres-
'byters may anoint the breast, but none but the
'bishop the forehead.' But in Epistle 26. he revokes this order in the case of want of bishops, and in such a case allows the presbyters to anoint the forehead too. And long before his time, the same liberty had been given to presbyters, 'in the absence
'of the bishop, not else,' in the first council of

[n] Part i. chap. xvii. §. 6.

[o] Can. 1. [Concil. tom. vi. p. 435. edit. Mansi.]

[p] [Vide Gregorii Opera: vel Concilia, edit. Mansi, tom. ix. p. 1161. 1173.]

Toledo[p]. And the author of the comments ascribed to St. Ambrose[q], in Ephes. c. 4, says, it was the custom at that time in Ægypt; 'Apud Ægyptum presbyteri consignant, si præsens non sit episcopus.' 'The presbyters do confirm, if the bishop be not 'present.'

CHAP. IX.

Year after the apostles. 300.

Novatian, it seems, as he was not baptized in the ordinary way, but in his bed; (which was one objection against his being made a bishop;) so also he never had had this anointing and imposition of hands; upon which Cornelius founds this other objection against him[r]: 'Neither was he, after he 'recovered, made partaker of those other things 'which a Christian ought by the rule of the church 'to have; i. e. to be confirmed [or sealed, σφραγισθῆναι] by the bishop: which he not having, how was 'he made partaker of the Holy Spirit?'

120.

150.

If any one had been baptized in a schismatical congregation, and afterward desired to be admitted among the catholics; he was by the rule of some churches to be baptized anew: but in the church of Rome (whose example finally prevailed) he was not baptized anew, (provided those from whom he came believed the Trinity, and baptized into it,) but he had a new imposition of hands and anointing. For they would never yield that the prayers of schismatics could procure the grace of the Holy Spirit.

Of these two things, the chrism or anointing is not commanded in Scripture. Yet it is still prac-

[p] Can. 20. [Concil. ed. Mansi, tom. iii. p. 1002.]

[q] [See these at p. 82. of the Appendix to vol. ii. of the Benedictine edition.]

[r] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. c. 43. [p. m. pag. 313. edit. Reading.]

CHAP. IX.

Year after the apostles.

tised by all the Christians of the east and west, except the protestants. But the laying on of hands is plainly mentioned in the Scripture, Acts viii. 17; Heb. vi. 2; and is yet continued by all Christians, except some very absurd people. It is enjoined in the church of England, with an excellent office drawn up on purpose for it. But I think there is never a divine of that church, that has not expressed his grief, that it is not more frequently offered, and more seriously and solemnly accepted and used. I hope so much of what St. Hierome says in the place I last quoted from him[s], is true; 'That it is not 'necessary to salvation: for else,' as he there says, 'they are in a lamentable condition, who in villages 'and remote places, being baptized by presbyters 'or deacons, do die before the bishop's visitation.'

These were the most ancient rites relating to baptism. Many that came up in after-times, and are now used in the church of Rome, are not worth the reciting: and it would be tedious to do it.

It is to be noted here, that some learned men, who are skilled in the customs of the Jews, do assure us, that those three ceremonies, of anointing the body at baptism, and of the trine immersion, and of the milk and honey, were all used by the Jews in their baptizing of a proselyte, whether infant or adult (as well as the requiring undertakers in the case of infants). And this is indeed the most probable account of the way from whence it was that the first Christians had these customs, of which there is no mention in the writings of the New Testament, viz. that they used them by imitation of the Jewish baptism. Which does still

[s] Adversus Luciferianos. [See above, p. 431.]

confirm (what I discoursed of in the introduction[t]) that they reckoned their baptism to succeed (with some alterations) in the room of the Jewish baptism of proselytes of the nations. CHAP. IX. Year after the apostles.

IX. But the most material thing by far that was done at baptism, was the *professions*; the sincerity whereof is more to be regarded than the external baptism itself: as St. Peter testifies, 1 Ep. iii. 21. They were constantly and universally required: in the case of grown persons, to be made with their own mouth in the most serious manner; and in the case of infants, by their sponsors in their name. That a man may justly wonder at the spirit of contradiction in those people that pretend baptism does better without them, and do practise accordingly: as if they had authority to entitle persons to the kingdom of God, whether they do, when they come to age, keep the commandments or not.

These professions were of two sorts, relating to the two general duties of a Christian: 1. Renouncing of wickedness; and, 2. Faith, with obedience to God. Every one that would be entered into the holy covenant of Christianity, must promise to renounce the idolatry and false worship then used in the world, and all other wickedness. The Scripture phrase is, *Repent and be baptized.* Pliny's Letter to Trajan[u], concerning the Christians, is, that all the ill that he (by examining some that had been of their sect and were come off from it) could find in them, was, 'That they would not 'sacrifice to the gods; that they kept assemblies 'before day, in which they sang hymns of praise 'to Christ as their God; and bound themselves (not

[t] [See vol. i. page 33—38.] [u] Lib. x. Epist. 97.

l thing, that he could hear of, but) in a
rament' (that is Pliny's word; it signified with
an *oath* or *solemn obligation*) 'not to be
y of any theft, robbery, adultery, cheating,
'treachery,' &c. It was probably the obligation
tered into at baptism, to which he refers; as
ving heard some general reports of their usage in
that matter. Justin Martyr, in the passage which I
recited in the I[illegible]st [illegible]i. §. 3, speaking of such
as they admitted into th[illegible] society, describes them
thus; 'They who are persu[illegible]led and do believe that
'those things which are taught by us are true, and
'do promise to live according to them,' &c.

The particular words in which this profession was made, were, by the account of the eldest authors that mention them, much the same as are used now; only shorter, and with some little variety in the several churches. Tertullian, in the place
100. lately quoted[x], recites them thus: 'We do re-
'nounce the Devil, and his pomp, and his angels.'
And he has the said words, without any alteration, in his book *de Spectaculis*, cap. 4; and in the book *de Idololatria*, though at ch. 6. he mentions only 'the Devil and his angels;' yet at ch. 18, he adds, 'since you have abjured the pomp of the Devil,' &c.
So that it is probable those were the very words of
110. the form of renunciation in the church of Carthage at that time. Origen brings in the Devil triumphing over a wicked Christian[y]; 'Lo! this man was 'called a Christian, and was signed on the forehead 'with Christ's mark; but he had in his heart my 'precepts and designs. This is the man that at his

[x] De Corona Militis, cap. 3.

[y] Psalm. 38. Homil. 2. [Op. tom. ii. p. 698.]

'baptism "renounced me and my works;" but af- CHAP. IX.
'terward engaged himself in all my works, and
'obeyed my laws.' But *Homil.* 12. *in Numeros*, he names them thus; 'his pomp, his works, his 'services, and pleasures.' Year after the apostles.

In the church of Jerusalem the form, as we read in St. Cyril [z], was; 'I renounce thee, oh Satan, and 140.
'all thy works, all thy pomp, and all thy service.' And he explains the works of the Devil thus; 'under 'the name of the Devil's works is comprehended 'all sin.' And he bids them mind, that 'what they 'say at that solemn time is written down in God's 'book; so that what they shall practise afterward 'to the contrary, will bring them under the judg- 'ment of deserters.' St. Chrysostom gives us the 300.
form of the church of Antioch to the same purpose [a]; 'I renounce thee, oh Satan, and thy pomp, 'and thy service, and thy angels.'

St. Cyprian, in the passage that I recited out of 150.
him in the First Part, chap. vi. §. 11, styles it, 'renouncing the Devil and the world;' and he mentions it in the same words, *Lib. de Bono Patientiæ*, §. 7.

When it was an infant that was baptized, these professions were made in his name and stead, by his parents, or others that stood as sponsors or godfathers for him: as appears by the words of Ter- 100.
tullian which I recited part i. ch. 4. §. 5: where he objects that 'the godfathers are by this means 'brought into danger: because they may either fail 'of their promises by death, or be deceived by a

[z] Catech. Myst. 1. [p. 307, 308. edit. Benedict.]

[a] In Epist. ad Coloss. Homil. 6. [Op. tom. xi. p. 370. edit. Montfaucon.]

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'child's proving wicked.' Mistaking the design of the thing so far, as to think that the godfather stands to the peril of that. And among other fathers that lived a little after, the mention of the godfathers and of the answers made by them in the name of the infant is so frequent, and I have cited so many passages where it is occasionally mentioned, that there is no need of more. Only in some of them it may be observed, that there were, as I said, in several churches several variations of the words of this renunciation. St. Austin [b], lib. i. *de Pec-*
300. *catorum Meritis*, cap. 19, says; 'that infants do 'profess repentance by the words of those that bring 'them, when they do by them renounce the Devil 'and this world.' And *Epist.* 23 [c], he says, it was asked among other things; 'Does this child turn 'to God?'

The requiring these obligations of the baptized person was called the *exorcising* him, or putting him to his oath. Which being become the common word, it was so called also in the case of infants. St. Austin pleads against the Pelagians [d], that 'it is 'in a real meaning, and not in a mockery, that the 'power of the Devil is exorcised [or abjured] in in-'fants, and they do renounce it by the mouths of 'those that bring them, not being capable of doing 'it by their own; that being delivered from the 'power of darkness, they may be translated into 'the kingdom of their Lord.'

In the later times of the church of Rome, this exorcising has been accompanied with so many odd

[b] [Op. tom. x. p. 11. edit. Benedict.]

[c] [Ibid. tom. ii. p. 263. Epist. 98. sect. 7. edit. Benedict.]

[d] De Nuptiis, lib. i. cap. 20. [sect. 22. Op. tom. x. p. 291.]

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tricks of their invention, that the word now sounds ill in the ears of protestants: and they take the name *exorcist* to signify something like that of *conjurer* in the vulgar acceptation. But as both these words in their original signification do import no more than 'the requiring of an oath or solemn promise:' so the use of exorcising formerly was no more than I have described, and the protestants do practise; save that they observed some peculiar gestures, postures, and actions, in the time of doing it, which are not worth the particular naming.

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X. They were bound also to profess the Christian FAITH. The words in which this was done in every particular church, were the same which that church used for a form of a Christian creed. The form of the creed was not in all churches the same in words, but in substance it was. It is great pity that there is not left any copy of any very ancient creed. We know both by the Scripture, and by their earliest writings, what was the substance of their faith: but we should be glad to have the very form of words which was used in the offices of each church, and according to which they put the interrogatories to the competents at baptism. We have some clauses of these left: but no entire form of a creed, till that which was agreed on at the first general meeting of Christians from all parts of the world, at Nice, anno Dom. 325. This is the eldest copy of any public creed that is extant.

325.

In the oldest books of all that we have of the Fathers, it is as it is in the books of Scripture: the articles of our faith are found scattered up and down, but not collected into any one short draught or summary. There is nothing more probable than the

opinion of those learned men, who judge that at first there was no other creed necessary for the baptized to repeat, than that which is collected from our Saviour's own words, Matt. xxviii. 19, viz. that they should say, *I believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Spirit.* But the heresies that arose, did not suffer the church offices to continue in that simplicity and brevity.

I think there is nothing more edifying to a Christian, than to perceive that the substance of *the faith once for all delivered to the saints* has continued the same in the catholic church from the Scripture-times till now. Therefore I will take the pains to set down some of the most remarkable places out of such Christian writers, as are elder than any copies of creeds now extant, which do in short contain the sum of their belief; and agreeable to which their creed proposed to the catechumens must have been.

40. Justin Martyr apologizes for the Christians, that they were not atheists, (as they were by some traduced to be;) for though they did not go to the temples, nor worship the gods; 'Yet,' says he[e], 'the true God and Father of righteousness, &c. and 'his Son, that came forth from him, and has taught 'us and the angels, &c. these things; and the pro-'phetic Spirit, we do worship and adore.' And having said (in the passage of the same apology, which I quoted in the First Part, ch. ii. §. 3, about the Christians' manner of baptism,) that they were baptized in the name of these Three; he adds this further explication; 'There is named over the

[e] Apol. 2. [Apolog. 1. sect. 6. secundum edit. Benedict. Op. Justin. p. 47.]

'person [or, by the person] that has a mind to be 'regenerated, the name of the Father, God, and 'Lord of all[f].' Then after a little digression, of the reason why the Christians do not affix any name to their God, as it was customary for the heathens; as Jupiter, Bacchus, &c., he goes on; 'And also the 'enlightened person [or baptized person] is washed 'in the name of Jesus Christ, that was crucified 'under Pontius Pilate, and in the name of the 'Holy Spirit, who by the prophets foretold the 'things concerning Jesus.' CHAP. IX. Year after the apostles.

Irenæus having to do with the Valentinians, who taught that there was another God, above the Creator of the world, and when they were confuted by Scripture, appealed to some secret traditions; says[g], 'It is easy for any one to know the tradition of the 'apostles declared in all the world: and we are 'able to reckon up those who were by the apostles 'ordained bishops in the churches, and their succes- 'sors to this time; who never taught any such 'thing.' Then he recites the succession of some churches from the apostles, Peter, Paul, John, &c., and says; 'suppose the apostles had left us no 'writings, ought we not to follow the order of that 'tradition, which they delivered to those, to whom 'they committed the churches?' And to that purpose, he instances in many Christians in the barbarous nations, that had no writings; and yet had the true faith by tradition: that is, says he; 67. 80.

'Believing in one God, who made heaven and 'earth, and all things in them by Jesus Christ, the 'Son of God; who out of highest love to his crea-

[f] [Ibid. sect. 61.]

[g] Lib. iii. cap. 3, 4.

'tures vouchsafed to be born of a virgin, uniting in 'himself [or in his own person] man to God, and 'suffered under Pontius Pilate, and rose again, and 'was received up in great glory, and will come a 'Saviour of those that are saved, and a judge of 'those that are judged; and will send into eternal 'fire all that deprave his truth, and despise his 'Father, and his coming.'

Also on much the like occasion at another place[h], having given a long account how strange things some heretics held, he says; 'Any one, that does 'but keep in his mind unaltered that rule of faith 'into which he was baptized,' will easily perceive their falsehood. And then a little after gives the account of the catholic faith: thus;

'For the church that is extended over all the 'world to the ends of the earth, having received 'from the apostles, and their disciples the faith; 'which is;

'In one God the Father Almighty, that made 'heaven and earth, and the sea, and all things in 'them: and in one Jesus Christ, the Son of God, 'who was for our salvation incarnated: and in the 'Holy Spirit, who foretold by the prophets the dis-'pensations of God, and the coming, the birth from 'a virgin, the suffering, the resurrection from the 'dead, and the bodily ascension into heaven, of Jesus 'Christ our beloved Lord; and his coming from 'heaven in the glory of the Father to restore all 'things, and to raise again all the bodies of man-'kind: that to Jesus Christ, our Lord, and God, 'and Saviour, and King, every knee may, accor-'ding 'to the good pleasure of the invisible Father,

[h] Lib. i. cap. 1 et 2.

'both of things in heaven, and things in earth, and 'things under the earth; and every tongue may 'confess to him; and he may pass a righteous sen- 'tence on all; and may send the spiritual wicked- 'nesses, and the angels that sinned and apostatized, 'and all ungodly, and unrighteous, and unjust men, 'and blasphemers, into everlasting fire; and give 'life to the righteous and holy, and to such as have 'kept his commandments, and have continued in his 'love (some from the beginning, and some by re- 'pentance), and may bestow upon them immortality 'and eternal glory.'

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This faith, he says, the church having received, keeps, 'as if they had all one heart and one soul:' and that neither the churches in Germany, nor those in Spain, or in France, or in the East, or in Egypt, or in Africa, or under the middle of the world, had any other belief: and that a learned preacher would deliver no more than this; nor an ignorant layman any less.

Tertullian writing against Praxeas (who, not being able to believe three persons in one numerical essence, taught that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are but one person; and consequently, that the Father was incarnated, and was that Jesus Christ that died), opposes to him the faith of the church as it had always been held; thus[i]:

'We believe that there is but one God: but yet 'with this dispensation or economy, that this one 'God has his Son, his *word* coming forth from him; 'by whom all things were made, and without him 'was not any thing made. That he was by the 'Father sent into the Virgin, and of her born, man

[i] Cap. 2.

, Son of Man and Son of God, and named Jesus e Christ. That this is he that suffered, died, and was buried according to the Scriptures, and raised again by the Father, and taken up into ' heaven, and sits at the right hand of the Father, ' and will come to judge the living and the dead. ' Who sent from thence, according to his promise, ' from the Father the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, ' the sanctifier of the [illegible]h of those that believe in ' the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

'This rule has been derived down from the be- ' ginning of the Gospel, before even the eldest of the ' heretics; much more before Praxeas, who is but ' of yesterday.'

And then, reciting the objection of Praxeas, viz. that the unity of God can no otherwise be maintained but by holding Father, Son, and Holy Spirit to be one person: he answers;

'As if they were not in our sense all one, inas- ' much as all are of one, that is, as to unity of the ' substance: and yet the mystery of the economy ' may be preserved, which dispenses the unity into ' a Trinity: ranking three; Father, Son, and Holy ' Spirit. "Tres, non statu, sed gradu; nec sub- ' stantia, sed forma; nec potestate, sed specie." ' Three, not in condition, but in order [or rank]; ' not in substance, but in form [or mode]; and not ' in power, but in species [which word I know not ' how to translate, being on so awful a subject]; ' but in one substance, and of one condition, and of ' one power; because they are but one God; out of ' whom those ranks, forms, and species are reckoned ' under the names of Father, Son, and Holy ' Spirit.'

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The same author in another book [k], writing against heretics in general, gives, in opposition to all of them, this summary of the Christian faith:

'That we may declare what we hold: the rule of 'faith is; to believe that there is but one God, and 'no other but the Maker of the world, who created 'all things out of nothing by his *word* first of all 'sent forth: that that *word*, being called his Son, 'was in divers manners seen by the patriarchs 'under the name of God, was in the prophets always 'heard, and at last being by the Spirit and power 'of God brought into the Virgin Mary, and made 'flesh in her womb, and born of her, was Jesus the 'Christ; and that then he preached the new law 'and new promise of the kingdom of heaven; did 'miracles; was crucified; rose again the third day; 'was carried into heaven; sat down on the right 'hand of God; sent in his stead the power of the 'Holy Spirit to lead them that believe; that he will 'come in glory to receive the saints into the enjoy-'ment of eternal life and the heavenly promises; 'and to adjudge the profane to eternal fire; having 'first raised both from the dead, and restored to 'them their flesh.'

A shorter abstract, yet drawn by the same man upon another occasion [l], is this:

'The rule of faith is but one, altogether unalter-'able, and not to be mended: that is, of believing 'in one God Almighty, maker of the world; and in 'his Son Jesus Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, 'crucified under Pontius Pilate, who arose the third 'day from the dead, was taken up into heaven, sits

[k] De Præscriptionibus, cap. 13.

[l] De Velandis Virginibus, cap. 1.

ow [illegible] he right hand of the Father, will come to the living and the dead, by raising the flesh itself to life again.'

Origen being to write a book of the 'Principles of Religion,' makes a preface[m] to this purpose; that because of the many heretical opinions, it was necessary to set down that which is 'the certain 'line and manifest rule; and by it to inquire of the 'rest.' This he c[illegible] [illegible] ecclesiastical doctrine 'delivered down from the apostles in the order of 'succession, and continuing still in the church.' And whereas some men that had better gifts than ordinary, might study and know some other things also; that this was 'delivered by the apostles for 'the use of all, even the dullest Christians.' And he says, 'It is this:

'First, that there is one God, who has made and 'ordered all things, creating them out of nothing. 'the God of all holy men from the creation: of 'Adam, Moses,' &c.

'That this God, who is both just and merciful. 'the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, gave both 'the Law and the Prophets, and also the Gospel: 'the same being the God both of the Old and New 'Testament.

'That Jesus Christ, who came, was begotten of the 'Father before all the creation: that he ministered 'to [or acted under] the Father in the creation of 'all things: for by him all things were made. That 'he in the last days humbled himself to be made 'man: he was made flesh when he was God, and 'continued to be man while he was God. He took 'a body like unto ours, differing only in this, that

[m] Περὶ ἀρχῶν. Præfat. [Op. tom. i. p. 47.]

'it was by the Holy Spirit born of a virgin. And 'that this Jesus the Christ was born and suffered 'truly, not in appearance only, but died truly the 'common death; and did truly rise from the dead: 'and after his resurrection conversed with his disci- 'ples; and was taken up. CHAP. IX. Year after the apostles.

'Then they have also delivered, that the Holy 'Spirit is joined with the Father and the Son, in 'honour and dignity.'

It may be here observed by the by, first, how Origen explains that phrase of St. Paul, Phil. ii. 7, *Being in the form of God*, &c. ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτὸν, &c. *He in the last days*, 'seipsum exinaniens, homo 'factus est,' *humbled* [or emptied] *himself to be made man*. He does not interpret it, that when he was a human soul, or angel in heaven, he humbled himself to take an earthly body. Secondly, how Rufinus according to Origen's sense translates πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως, Col. i. 15; he does not say, *The firstborn of every creature*; much less does he say, 'The first of God's creation.' But, 'ante 'omnem creaturam natus ex Patre.' 'Born [or 'begotten] of the Father before all the creation.'

These are some of the most ancient passages, wherein the authors undertake to give an account in few words of the faith, into which Christians were baptized. They do not say that these were the very forms of the creeds, by which the interrogatories were put; but they must have been to this purpose. And whereas Tertullian says in the place I quoted before, that the custom was for the baptized person 'to answer some few words more than those 'which our Saviour in the Gospel has enjoined;' we may partly see here what they were. For whereas our

ur had enjoined only those words, of believing the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit:' and hereas some heretics in those first ages, though eping those words, yet had introduced monstrous pinions; some of the Father, that he was not he God of the Old Testament, but another; and me, of the Son, that he was not really a man, nor did really die, as some taught; or that he was not really God, as others: the church did examine the candidates, not only whether they believed 'in 'the Father,' but whether they believed him to be 'the maker of heaven and earth.' And not only whether they believed 'in the Son,' but whether they believed his divinity, incarnation, death, resurrection, &c. On these occasions it was, that the ordinary forms of the creed were augmented by some words added for explication sake. And these were not in every church the same words: but each church added such words as were necessary to obviate the heresies that arose in their country, and were in any particular contrary to the fundamentals of the faith.

And besides such explications concerning each person of the holy Trinity, they added also some other necessary articles of Christian faith to the creed, which the baptized person must make profession of. So we see in these passages (beside the doctrine of the Trinity) 'the resurrection of the 'dead,' and the 'future judgment,' and 'eternal life' plainly delivered. And more positively than any of
100. the rest, the article 'of the church' is by Tertullian mentioned, as recited at baptism, in his book on that subject[n]; where having said that 'our faith is

[n] Lib. de Baptismo, c. 6.

'sealed [i. e. we are baptized] in the Father, Son, CHAP. IX.
'and Holy Spirit;' he adds, 'and when the testi-
'mony of our faith, and promise of our salvation, Year after the apostles.
'are assured by these three, there is necessarily
'added a mention of the church. For where the
'three, that is, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, are,
'there is the church, which is the body of the
'three.' And also the same man, in another treatise[o], mentioning occasionally the church, calls it, 'Sanctam ecclesiam, in quam repromisimus,' 'the holy church, the belief [or owning] whereof 'we have vowed.' So that it is plain, this article 'of the church' was in some of the most ancient creeds. The meaning of the profession of this article, which they had was, 'I own the catholic 'church,' i. e. I am of no sect or schism, but do adhere to the communion and unity of the body: in explication of which sense were afterward added these words; 'the communion of saints:' that is, of Christians. This was their meaning of it; and they would baptize nobody without it. In what sense the sectaries, that do renounce this communion, and yet still say those words with their mouth, do take them, I cannot imagine. As for baptism, I think they do, many of them, administer it without any creed at all.

About fifty years after the time of Tertullian, we 150.
have in St. Cyprian the form in which the baptized were interrogated in his time concerning those other articles, that followed the confession of the Trinity; or at least a part of it.

In his sixty-ninth epistle[p], disputing against such

[o] Lib. v. contra Marcionem, cap. 4.

[p] Juxta edit. Oxon. [Ep. 76. in edit. Benedict.]

would have baptism given by the Novatian schismatics to be good baptism, he says:

'If any one object, and say that Novatian holds 'the same rule as the catholic church does, and 'baptizes by the same creed that we do; that he 'owns the same God the Father, the same Son 'Christ, the same Holy Spirit; and therefore that 'he may baptize, since he seems not to differ from 'us in the interrogatories of baptism:—Let him 'that objects this, know; first, that the schismatics 'have not the same rule of the creed with us, nor 'the same interrogation; for when they say, "Dost 'thou believe the forgiveness of sins, and the life 'everlasting by the holy church?" they express 'a lie in their interrogation, since they have not '[or own not] the church.'

And in his next epistle, to the same purpose:

'When we say, "Dost thou believe the life ever-
'lasting and the forgiveness of sins by the holy
'church," [or, by the means used in the holy
'church]?' &c.

XI. From these traces we may perceive what was the substance of the most ancient creeds in the several churches: but we come now nigh those times, since which there are entire copies of the public creeds remaining. The eldest of which is,
225. **as I said, that which was at the council of Nice agreed on, as a form to be owned by all churches. It was this[q]:**

'We believe in one God the Father Almighty,
'maker of all things visible and invisible. And in
'one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God: begotten
'of the Father: his only begotten; that is, of the

[q] Eusebii Epist. apud Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 8.

'substance [or essence] of the Father: God of God: 'light of light: very God of very God: begotten, 'not made: being co-essential [or of one substance] 'with the Father: by whom all things were made, 'both things in heaven, and things in earth. Who 'for us men, and for our salvation, came down, and 'was incarnate, and made man. He suffered: and 'rose again the third day. He went into heaven. 'He will come to judge the living and the dead.

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'And in the Holy Spirit.

'And those that say, that there ever was a time 'when he [Christ] was not: or, that before he was 'begotten, he was not; or, that he was made out of 'nothing; or, do say that the Son of God is of any 'other substance or essence; or, that he was created; 'or, is changeable, or alterable: such men the catholic 'and apostolic church of God does renounce [or 'anathematize].'

When the council of Constantinople, which was in the year 382, asserts this creed to be the ancientest, (as they do in a synodical epistle[r] written to the church of Rome,) they mean, it is the ancientest of any that had been established at any general meeting. But the several churches must have had forms for the use of baptism before. 382.

But yet the creeds used before in the several churches must have been much to the same purpose: only in this there are some expressions added particularly against the heresy of Arius. Eusebius' creed, which he drew up and offered to the council of Nice, as the faith which he says[s], 'he had 'received from the bishops before him, and at his 325. 185.

[r] Theodoret. Hist. Eccles. lib. v. c. 9.

[s] Epist. apud Socrat. lib. i. c. 8.

catechising, and when he was baptized; and which he had held and taught, both while he was a presbyter, and since he had been a bishop,' ed but little. He says, 'the council accepted 'of his words, making some additions.' The form which he had offered was this:

'We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, 'maker of all things visible and invisible. And in 'one Lord Jesus Christ, the WORD of God, God of 'God, light of light, life of life, the only begotten 'Son, born before all the creation, begotten of God 'the Father before all worlds, by whom all things 'were made,' &c. Here are recited in the body of the creed those words of the apostle, Col. i. 15. Πρωτότοκον πάσης κτίσεως. And it is observable how they are paraphrased in the next words: πρὸ πάντων αἰώνων ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς γεγεννημένον: ***begotten of God the Father before all worlds*** [or ages]: by which we may be sure they would not have translated πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως as our English does, *the firstborn of every creature*, (of which English expression the Arians and Socinians take advantage,) but 'born '[or begotten] before all the creation.'

This, some learned men[t] do think was the very form of the creed that had been used time out of mind at Cæsarea. If so, then this is the oldest copy extant of any public creed. But I think Eusebius' words do lead one to conceive that this was the substance, but the words his own: because he says, 'they accepted of *my* words with some 'additions.'

215. At the time when Arius first moved his contro-

[t] Dr. Cave, Epist. Apologetica, [subjoined to his Historia Litteraria.]

versy, Alexander the bishop of the place opposed to his novelty, that the steady faith of Christians is, and always was, thus[u]: CHAP. IX. Year after the apostles.

'We believe in one unbegotten Father, who has 'no cause at all of his essence, &c. And in one 'Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten Son of God: 'begotten, not out of nothing, but of the Father. 'We believe him, as well as the Father, to be un-'changeable and unalterable, &c. And to differ 'nothing from the Father, but only that the Father 'is unbegotten, &c. That the Son does ever exist 'from the Father. He took a body, not in show 'only, but a real one, of the holy virgin. In the 'end of the world he came among men to expiate 'their sins: he was crucified, and died, without any 'diminution of his divinity: he arose from the 'dead: he ascended into heaven, and sits at the 'right hand of the majesty of God.

'Also one Holy Spirit, which inspired both the 'holy men of the Old Testament and the Divine 'teachers of the New.'

'Moreover one holy catholic and apostolic church: 'and the resurrection of the dead.'

This, it seems, was the substance of what the Christians of Alexandria had ever held: but this could not be the very form; because it is (with the clauses that I have left out) too long for the use of baptism.

Arius' own creed, given in to the emperor, was this[x]: 328.

'We believe in one God, the Father Almighty.

[u] Theodoret. Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 4.

[x] Socrat. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 26.

'And in the Lord Jesus Christ, his Son: begotten 'of him before all worlds: God the WORD: by 'whom all things were made, both things in heaven, 'and things on earth. He came down, and was in- 'carnated: he suffered and rose again, and ascended 'into heaven: and will come again to judge the 'living and the dead. And in the Holy Spirit. And 'in the resurrection of the flesh, and the life of the 'world to come, and the kingdom of heaven, and 'one catholic church of God from one end of the 'world to the other.'

And he subjoins; that since he had this faith, he entreated that he might by the emperor's means be admitted to the unity of the church, all questions and needless disputes being laid aside. But he conceals here his worst opinions, viz. that there was **a time when God the Son was not: and that he was made out of nothing, &c., and was not very or** true God.

237. Twelve years after the council of Nice, Constantine dying, there succeeded in the East for forty years together, except very short intervals, emperors that were Arians. During which time the Arians, bearing the greatest sway in those parts, set up a great many new forms of creeds: some of them in words tolerably well agreeing with the catholic sense; others, very disagreeable. But the general answer that the Christians of the West, (which were free from the Arian persecution,) and the catholic party in the East, gave, when any of these were proposed to them for their assent, was; that the Nicene Creed was enough, and they would not entertain any new ones. I will give for a specimen one of the best and one of the worst of them.

1. The council of Arians, met at Antioch anno 341, agreed upon this creed[y]; CHAP. IX.

'To believe in one God of all, the Creator of all 'things, visible and invisible. And in one only be- 'gotten Son of God, who before all worlds [or ages] 'subsisted and was together with the Father that 'begot him; by whom all things, both visible and 'invisible, were made. He in the last days came 'down by the good-will of the Father, and took 'flesh of the holy Virgin: and having fulfilled all 'the Father's counsel, suffered: and was raised 'again: and went back to heaven, and sits at the 'right hand of the Father: and will come to judge 'the living and the dead: and continues to be King 'and God for ever. We believe also in the Holy 'Spirit. And if we need say any more, we be- 'lieve the resurrection of the flesh, and the life 'everlasting.'

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And three years after, when the heresy of Pho- 244. tinus had in the mean time burst out, meeting there again, they (to give as good satisfaction as they could to the western bishops) declared their sense of that heresy, and of the exorbitance of some Arians. After the body of their creed, much like the former, they add such clauses as these[z]; 'All that say, that 'the Son of God was made out of nothing, or of 'any other substance, and not of that of God; or, 'that there ever was a time or age in which he was 'not: such men the holy catholic church renounces.' They prove it to be both impious and absurd, 'to 'imagine any time before he was begotten; since 'all time and all ages were made by him.' They

[y] Socrat. lib. ii. cap. 10.

[z] Socrat. lib. ii. cap. 19.

declare that 'neither when they profess three persons, τρία Πρόσωπα, they do make three Gods: nor 'when they say, there is one God the Father of our 'Lord Jesus Christ the only unbegotten, do they therefore deny Christ to be Θεὸν προαιώνιον, the eternal 'God [or God before all ages].' They do also own there, that he is 'God by nature, perfect and true 'God.' They profess 'their abhorrence of Photinus, 'who makes the word to be ἀνύπαρκτον, without a 'personal subsistence.' And say, 'As for ourselves, **'we know him to be not merely as a word spoken, 'or as reason in God: but God the WORD, and subsisting by himself, and the Son of God and Christ. 'And that he was with his Father before the world, 'not by way of prescience, &c., but the subsisting 'WORD of the Father, and GOD of GOD——like to 'the Father in all things, &c. Moreover,' say they, 'we, understanding in a cautious sense that which** 'is said of him, *The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way*[a], [this text the Greek translators had rendered, Κύριος ἔκτισέ με, *The Lord built 'or made me,*] do by no means understand, that he 'was begotten in a way like to the creatures made 'by him: for it were impious, and against the faith 'of the church, to liken the Creator to the things 'by him made, &c.———Thus we believe in the 'perfect and most holy Trinity, calling the Father, 'God; and the Son, God; we do not mean these to 'be two, but one God,' &c. These men were not very far from the catholic faith.

2. But about sixteen years afterward, this sect carried matters to more extravagant outrages. For the emperor Constantius, a bigoted Arian, being

[a] Prov. viii. 22.

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then at Antioch, a party met there, and determined that 'the Son is not at all like the Father, neither 'in essence nor in will: that he was made out of 'nothing: as Arius had at first said.'

Sozomen relating this[b], says, that there were among these (who were but few in all) several of the party of Aetius, who, he says, 'was the first that 'after Arius ventured to use openly such expres-'sions, and was therefore called *the atheist*.' And about this time Eunomius, the partner of Aetius, published his creed to this purpose.

'There is one God, unbegotten and without be-'ginning, &c., the Maker and Creator of all things, 'and first of his only begotten Son, &c. For he 'begot, created, and made his Son before all things, 'and before all the creation, only by his power and 'operation: not communicating any thing of his 'own essence to him, &c., nor making him another 'like himself, &c., but he begot him of such a nature 'as he thought fit, &c. And by him he made, first 'and the greatest of all, the Holy Spirit, &c. And 'after him, all the things in heaven and earth, &c. 'There is also one Holy Spirit, the first and greatest 'of the works of the only-begotten, made by the 'command of the Father, but by the power and 'operation of the Son.'

This man had reason to appoint among his followers a new form of baptism: for the old one did not fit to such opinions. So he laid it aside, and used that impious form of baptizing which I mentioned before at §. 4. 'In the name of the unbe-'gotten Father,' &c.

The moderate and general sort of Arians did all

[b] Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. cap. 29.

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the while own all that the Nicene Creed had said of our Saviour to be true, save that they thought not fit to determine that he is 'of one substance with

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'the Father:' as neither, on the contrary, did they think fit to say, as Arius had done, that he was 'created,' or was 'of any other' substance. They rejected both those clauses, and said that the substance or essence of God is unsearchable, and nothing ought to be determined about it. Yet Eusebius [b] and Athanasius [c] shewed them that that very word had been often used by the Christians both of the Greek and Latin church, above a hundred years before. Many of the books out of which they could then prove this, are now lost: yet for the Latins, Tertullian does use that very expression in the passage of his that I quoted last. And Pamphilus the martyr, in his Apology for Origen, (or be it Eusebius himself that was the author of that piece,) makes it plain that it was a common expression in the books of Origen that were then extant. Yet if any in those times did scruple the use of the word ὁμοούσιος, as being not a Scripture word; but did by other words shew their belief in Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, one God, to be catholic; Athanasius owns such men for brethren; and says, it was the case of Basil of Ancyra. *De Synodis Arimin. et Seleuc. non longe a fine* [d].

However, we see that this sect of the Arians, even the dregs of it among the Eunomians, had not nigh so derogatory thoughts of the nature of our

[b] Euseb. Epist. apud Socrat. lib. i. c. 8.

[c] Epist. ad Afros, apud Theodoret. lib. i. c. 8.

[d] [See section 41 of that treatise, in the Benedictine of Athanasius, tom. i. p. 755.]

[redacted]

[redacted] him [redacted] before [redacted] these [redacted] sort of [redacted] Word, [redacted] nal: but [redacted] take [redacted] flesh, [redacted] directed [redacted] no sooner [redacted] Catholics, [redacted] rence of him, [redacted] by reciting [redacted] And he concludes: [redacted]

'rejected by all Christians, [redacted] by some [redacted]
'Julian the heretic. [redacted]
'St. John for making Christ God, [redacted]
'Photinus for denying [redacted]
'written by Julian to him, [redacted]
'mean translation delivered by Faustinus at Ju-
'tinian. lib. iv. "*Tu quidem, Photine,*" &c. You
'Photinus, say something like, and come near to
'good sense. You do well not to bring him whom
'you think to be God, into a woman's womb.'

And from that time till very lately, whoever embraced that opinion has thought fit at the same time to renounce the Scriptures, and the name of a Christian.

What creed the Arians used all this while, for their candidates to make their professions by, [redacted]

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upon record they altered almost every day. The Catholics in the East made use of the Nicene, as

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appears by *Epiphanius in Ancorato*[f], where he gives directions that 'every one of the catechumens 'that would come to the holy laver must not only 'profess in general to believe, but must be taught 'to say expressly, as their and our mother does, 'viz. "We believe in one God,"' &c., as it is in the Nicene Creed. Only in Epiphanius' copy some clauses are put in by a later hand (or by himself
281. afterward) out of the Constantinopolitan Creed, which was set forth four years after the first writing of that book. He dates his book the tenth year
277. of Valens, and he says, 'This is the faith delivered 'by all the holy bishops together, above three hun-'dred and ten in number.' Which must be the Nicene bishops. So that it is certain he in the first edition of his book set down the Nicene: and it was interpolated afterwards with those few additions which the council of Constantinople made to it. And I indeed was of opinion that the same thing had happened to the Jerusalem Creed, ex-
259. plained in way of catechism by St. Cyril. He wrote those catechisms first in Constantius' time; and yet there are in them, as they are now, the very clauses
281. of the Constantinopolitan Creed. This, I reckoned, could never have happened so exact, but that he in his old age, (for he lived to that time,) or somebody after him, had added those clauses which the council of Constantinople had put in. But I find that Mr. Grabe[g] is of another opinion, and thinks that

[f] [Sect. 119. See Epiphanii Opera, Petavii. fol. I tom. ii. p. 122.]

[g] Annot. in Opera Doct. Bull. [See 'G. Bulli J

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blessed Saviour, as our Socinians have; who take him to be a mere man, and to have had no being before his human birth. Photinus indeed did in those confused times broach that opinion which one sort of the Socinians do now fall into; that the 241. WORD, the Λόγος, of which St. John speaks, is eternal: but that this WORD is not a person, nor did take man's nature in Jesus Christ, was not *made flesh*, (as St. John says he was,) but only inspired, directed, or dwelled in, the man Jesus. But he did no sooner say this, but that all sorts of Christians, Catholics, Arians, and Eunomians, joined in an abhorrence of him, as bishop Pearson shews at large[e], by reciting the condemnations of him particularly. And he concludes; 'so suddenly was this opinion 'rejected by all Christians, applauded by none but 'Julian the heretic, [*lege* apostate,] who railed at 361. 'St. John for making Christ God, and commended 'Photinus for denying it: as appears by an epistle 'written by Julian to him, as it is, though in a 'mean translation, delivered by Facundus ad Jus-'tinian. lib. iv. "*Tu quidem O Photine*," &c. You 'Photinus, say something like, and come near to 'good sense. You do well not to bring him, whom 'you think to be God, into a woman's womb.'

And from that time till very lately, whoever embraced that opinion has thought fit at the same time to renounce the Scriptures, and the name of a Christian.

What creed the Arians used all this while, for their candidates to make their professions by at baptism, I know not; for their creeds that are

[e] On the Creed, page 120. [in the folio editions, 1676 and 1723. Article II. 'his only Son.']

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has the expressions purposely levelled against that heresy.

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XII. Valens, the great persecutor of the Nicene faith, died in the fourteenth year of his reign. And then the church had liberty once again to come together from all parts both of the East and West:

381. which they did at Constantinople, anno 381. They made no doubt or delay of establishing the Nicene Creed, in opposition to all the novelties that had disturbed the world since it. Only inasmuch as some new heresies had sprung up since, especially about our belief in the Holy Spirit, they put in a few clauses against them. Eunomius, Macedonius, and some others, had followed Arius' pattern of innovating, so far, that as he had made the *Son of God* a creature, so they would do the same by the *Spirit of God*. Arius had had a much better handle to take hold of: for the Son did indeed take on him a created nature: and because in that nature he was born, died, &c., there were a great many plausible things to say among vulgar people. But to make the Spirit of God, which St. Paul shews to be inward to God, as the spirit of a man is to a man, saying, 1 Cor. ii. 11, *What man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God.* To make him a creature too, was, we should think, a bold attempt, not only on the honour of God, but also on the reason and sense of men. But so it always happens. Whenever one sort of innovators break in upon any article of faith, there always arises behind their backs a new sect, that will refine upon the first, and carry the superstructure further than they ever intended, and to

such extravagancies as the principal heretics are ashamed of. Yet some of the Arians, that the party might be the stronger against the catholics, struck in with the Macedonians in this too. CHAP. IX. Year after the apostles.

The bishops of this council added therefore, as I said, some new clauses, relating to our belief concerning the Holy Spirit, and some other plain things to the body of the Nicene. And the creed by them published is oftener called by the name of the Nicene Creed, than of the Constantinopolitan: and so they themselves desired it should; it being only a second edition of the Nicene with those additions. Nestorius, in his sermons preached at Constantinople about forty years after this time, does often quote the Nicene Creed in defence of his opinion: but the clauses he produces are the words of this. And generally after this time, when we have mention of the Nicene Creed, or faith, we are to understand this, unless where the author does expressly make a distinction. 328.

It is the same (except one word) that is nowadays repeated in the Communion Service by almost all the established churches of Christians in the world. So general an affront does that extravagant author give, that says, 'All that own it must renounce 'the numerical unity of God's essence [m].' The copy of it, with a distinction of such clauses as were then added, is this:

'We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, 'maker of *heaven and earth, and of* all things 'visible and invisible. 281.

'And in one Lord Jesus Christ, the only begotten

[m] [See above, chapter v. sect. 9. page 150.]

'Son of God: *begotten of his Father before all*
'*worlds*: God of God: light of light: very God of
'very God: begotten, not made: being of one sub-
'stance with the Father: by whom all things were
'made; [in some copies it is added, *both things in*
'*heaven and things in earth*;] who for us men and
'for our salvation came down *from heaven*, and was
'incarnate *by the Holy Spirit of the Virgin Mary*,
'and was made man, *and was crucified also for us*
'*under Pontius Pilate*. He suffered; *and was*
'*buried*; and the third day he rose again *according*
'*to the Scriptures*, and ascended into heaven, *and*
'*sitteth at the right hand of the Father*: and he
'shall come *again* to judge the living and the dead;
'*whose kingdom shall have no end.*

'And *we believe* in the Holy Spirit, *the Lord*
'*and giver of life: who proceedeth from the Fa-*
'*ther: who with the Father and the Son together*
'*is worshipped and glorified: who spake by the*
'*prophets.*

'*And we believe one catholic and apostolic*
'*church. We acknowledge one baptism for the*
'*remission of sins. And we look for the resurrec-*
'*tion of the dead; and the life of the world to*
'*come.*'

Whereas in the copies nowadays used in the western church it is said, 'The Holy Spirit, &c., 'who proceedeth from the Father and the Son:' those words, *and the Son*, were added, several hundred years after the making of the creed, by the church of Rome; and so passed into all the western copies: but the eastern churches have them not. And how true soever the doctrine may be, it was not fair for any one part of the church to add the

words to the old copy. The Greeks say, he proceeds from the Father *by* the Son. CHAP. IX.

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The chief thing that this creed has more than the old Nicene, is, that the Holy Spirit is 'Lord, 'and giver of life.' The Macedonian heretics had taught that the Holy Spirit is one of the *ministering spirits* mentioned, Heb. i. 14, only greater than the rest. It was in opposition to this, that the catholics testified their faith, that he is (not a ministering or serving spirit, as the angels that are creatures, but) τὸ Κύριον Πνεῦμα, 'the Spirit that is the 'Lord:' referring to 2 Cor. iii. 17. where St. Paul having at ver. 8. called the gospel *the ministration of the Spirit*, (because in it the power and grace of the Holy Spirit is especially manifested,) and having in prosecution of that discourse spoken to this purpose: that as Moses, when he turned his face to the people, put on a veil; so the Jews reading the law had still a veil over their understandings: but as Moses, when he turned to *the Lord* put off his veil: so, *when it* [the heart of the people] *shall turn* to the Lord, *the veil shall be taken away*. Now, says he, ὁ Κύριος τὸ Πνεῦμά ἐστι, 'the Spirit is '*the Lord*,' (which our English has, *the Lord is that Spirit*,) *and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is* παρρησία *liberty* [or an open face without a veil]. And for the other phrase, ζωοποιοῦν, a quickener [or giver of life], it is an attribute of the Spirit, often mentioned in Scripture.

The council of Constantinople was not the first that condemned the Macedonian heresy. The catholics had done it before, from the time of the rise of it, in several particular councils, as they had opportunities in those times of persecution to assemble

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which St. Cyprian tells, on purpose to make those that had revolted to idolatry in the late persecution at Carthage sensible of their guilt and of God's wrath; and that they ought not without due confession and penitence approach the holy table[n].

'I will tell you what happened in my own 'presence. The parents of a certain little girl, run-'ning out of town in a fright, had forgot to take 'any care of their child, whom they had left in the 'keeping of a nurse. The nurse had carried her to 'the magistrates: they, because she was too little 'to eat the flesh, gave her to eat before the idol 'some of the bread mixed with wine, which had 'been left of the sacrifice of those wretches. Since 'that time her mother took her home. But she 'was no more capable of declaring and telling the 'crime committed, than she had been before of un-'derstanding or of hindering it. So it happened 'that once when I was administering, her mother, 'ignorant of what had been done, brought her along 'with her. But the girl being among the saints 'could not with any quietness hear the prayers said; 'but sometimes fell into weeping, and sometimes 'into convulsions, with the uneasiness of her mind: 'and her ignorant soul, as under a wrack, declared 'by such tokens as it could, the conscience of the 'fact in those tender years. And when the service 'was ended; and the deacon went to give the cup 'to those that were present, and the others received 'it, and her turn came; the girl by a divine instinct 'turned away her face, shut her mouth, and refused 'the cup. But yet the deacon persisted: and put

[n] Lib. de Lapsis, circa medium. [p. 132. edit. Fell. p. 189. ed. Benedict.]

'into her mouth, though she refused it, some of CHAP. IX.
'the sacrament of the cup. Then followed reach- Year after the apostles.
'ings and vomiting. The eucharist could not stay
'in her polluted mouth and body; the drink conse-
'crated in our Lord's blood burst out again from
'her defiled bowels. Such is the power, such the
'majesty of our Lord: the secrets of darkness were
'discovered by its light: even unknown sins could
'not deceive the priest of God. This happened in
'the case of an infant who was by reason of her
'age incapable of declaring the crime which an-
'other had acted on her.' He goes on to tell how some grown people at the same table, guilty of the same crime, but thinking to conceal it, had been more severely handled; possessed with evil spirits, &c.

This child was probably four or five years old. For the heat of the persecution was about two years before this administering of the sacrament could be, if we reckon the interval for St. Cyprian had been almost all that while retired out of the city, as appears by bishop Pearson's Annals of that time. And the child may be guessed by the story to have been two or three years old, when she was carried to the idol feast. And in the Magdeburgenses, relating this story, mention from *Petrus Alphax.* that young girls did at this time sometimes receive. And so Salmasius in the sacrament himself. *Sinaxi Themar.* v. *Sanctæ.*

This passage might have been added to the other quotations that I brought of St. Cyprian for infants'

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baptism; for no church ever gave the communion to any persons before they were baptized: but I reserved it for this place. This is all, till above four hundred years after Christ's birth; save that in the passage which I, part i. ch. vi. §. 11, recited of St. Cyprian *De Lapsis*, there are some words sounding that way.

317. Innocent the First, bishop of Rome, does indeed, anno 417, plainly and positively say, that infants cannot be saved without receiving the eucharist: and that in a synodical epistle[p] written to the Fathers of the Milevitan council. The council had represented to him the mischief of that tenet of the Pelagians, that unbaptized infants, though they cannot go to heaven, yet may have eternal life; which the Pelagians maintained on this pretence, that our Saviour, though he had said, *He that is not born of water cannot enter the kingdom*, yet had not said, *he cannot have an eternal life*. To this, Innocent's words are; 'That which your bro-'therhood says that they teach, "that infants may 'without the grace of baptism have eternal life, is 'very absurd: since, *Except they eat the flesh of 'the Son of Man*[q], *and drink his blood, they have 'no life in them*," ' &c. His meaning is plainly this; they can have no eternal life without receiving the communion; and they cannot do that, till they be baptized. And it is true what Mr. Daillé urges[r]; 'That St. Austin says the same thing eight or ten 'times over in several places of his books.' And

[p] Apud Augustin. Ep. 93. [Epist. 182. ed. Benedict. See it, among Innocent's Epistles, No. 25; in the Councils by Mansi, vol. iii. p. 175.]

[q] John vi. 53. [r] Lib. i. cap. 8.

some of these books are dated a little before this letter of Innocent. But though he wrote a great part of his works before this Innocent was made bishop of Rome, and in them speaks often of infant-baptism; yet it is observable, that he never speaks of infants communicating till after Innocent had been bishop some time: which makes me think it probable that Innocent did first bring up this doctrine of the necessity of this sacrament to infants: for after Innocent had so determined, St. Austin oftener quotes him[s] for it, than he does any place of Scripture. CHAP. IX. Year after the apostles. 302.

P.S. I am glad to find so learned a man as John Frith is of the same mind. 'Answer to More[t].' That Innocent was the author of the Necessity of Communicating Infants.

Among all the passages of St. Austin to this purpose, there is need of mentioning but one: and that because some people have said that he at that place does affirm it to be an apostolical tradition; from whence they conclude how little heed is to be given to him, when he says infant-baptism was so. The place is, *De Peccatorum Meritis*, lib. i. cap. 24[u]. He is arguing against the Pelagians, who said, eternal life (though not the kingdom of God) might be had without baptism: and says thus; 'The 'Christians of Africa do well call baptism itself 'one's salvation; and the sacrament of Christ's 'body, one's life. From whence is this, but, as I

[s] Epist. 106. et alibi, [186 in edit. Benedict.]

[t] [Printed at Munster in 1513: and, with the works of Tyndal and Barnes, at London, fol. 1573.]

[u] [Op. tom. x. p. 19. ed. Benedict.]

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'suppose, from that ancient and apostolical tradition, 'by which the churches of Christ do naturally hold 'that without baptism and partaking of the Lord's 'table none can come either to the kingdom of 'God, or to salvation and eternal life? For the 'Scripture, as I shewed before, says the same. For 'what other thing do they hold, that call baptism '*salvation*, than that which is said, *He saved us* '*by the washing of regeneration*:' and that which Peter says, '*The like figure whereunto, even baptism,* '*doth now save us?* And what other thing do 'they hold, that call the sacrament of the Lord's 'table *life*, than that which is said, *I am the bread* '*of life*, &c.; and, *The bread which I will give, is* '*my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world;* 'and, *Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and* '*drink his blood, ye have no life in you?* If then, 'as so many divine testimonies do agree, neither '*salvation* nor *eternal life* is to be hoped for by any 'without baptism and the body and blood of our 'Lord; it is in vain promised *to infants* without 'them.'

There is (as I observed a little before) a great difference between saying, 'There is a tradition or 'order of the apostles for *infants* to receive the 'eucharist, as a thing without which they cannot be 'saved;' and saying, 'There is a tradition for *all* to 'receive it, as a thing without which they cannot 'be saved.' For a rule given in general words may be understood with an exception of infants, or without such exception, according as the nature of the thing, or other sayings of the Lawgiver [illegible] All the Israelites that do not keep

shall be cut off. There very young infants must be excepted. They must all be circumcised. That includes infants, as well as others. Now in the case of baptism, St. Austin and those others whom we have quoted do say, there is a tradition from the apostles for baptizing infants. But all that St. Austin says here, in the case of the eucharist, is in general, that there is an apostolical tradition that none that do not receive it can have salvation. And that this rule should include infants is not said as from the apostles, but is only his own consequence drawn from the general rule; neither do his words import any more: in which consequence there may easily be a mistake.

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XVI. After these times of St. Austin and Innocent, there is ever now and then some mention found in the Latin church of infants receiving; Mercator[x], *subnot.* 8. in the year 435; Gregory the First[y], *Sacramentar.* anno 590; and so forward till about the year 1000. But toward the latter end of this term, as we learn by the relation of Hugo de Sancto Victore[z], who lived anno 1100, they gave to infants only the wine, and that only by the priest's dipping his finger in the chalice, and then putting it into the child's mouth for him to suck. And after some time, this also was left off; and instead of it, they gave the new-baptized infant some drops of wine not consecrated, which Hugo dislikes. 335. 490.

This custom of giving common wine to infants

[x] [See M. Mercatoris Opera, 2. tom. folio, Paris. 1673.]

[y] [See this in vol. iii. of the Benedictine edition of Gregory's Works, 4 vols. folio, Paris, 1705.]

[z] Lib. iii. de Sacram. cap. 20. [See this in the collection of 'auctores de Divinis Officiis,' &c., quoted above, at page 424.]

some words of St. Hierome[a] to be older
urch of Rome than the custom of giving
crated wine. For instead of milk and
speaks there (if there be no mistake in
of wine and milk given to the new bap-
n the churches of the west,' says he, 'the
nd type still continues, of giving to those
regenerated in Christ wine and milk.'

900. he observed that about the year 1000,
the [illegible] antiation sprung up in the
Latin church, which created an excessive and superstitious regard to the outward elements of the eucharist; and had among others this effect, that as the wine was kept from the laymen for fear of slabbering, so the whole sacrament was from infants.

1460. And at last the council of Trent[b] determined, that 'it is not at all necessary for them; since being 'regenerated by the laver of baptism, and incorpo-'rated into Christ, they cannot in that age lose the 'grace of being children of God, which they have 'now obtained. And yet, say they, antiquity is not 'to be condemned, if it did sometimes and in some 'places observe that custom: for as those holy 'Fathers had a probable reason of their so doing 'on account of that time [here they should have 'added, which did not believe transubstantiation]; 'so it is for certain, and without controversy to be 'believed, that they did it not on any opinion of 'its necessity to their salvation.' And then they pass[c] this anathema: 'If any one shall say that 'partaking of the eucharist is necessary for infants,

[a] Comment. in Esaiam, lib. xv. [Op. tom. iv. ed. Valla
Vide Magdeburgenses, Centur. 4. cap. 6

[b] Sess. 21. cap. 4. [c] Canon 4.

'before they come to years of discretion, let him be 'anathema.' CHAP. IX.

It is a brave thing to be infallible. Such men may say what they will, and it shall be true. What is a contradiction in other men's mouths, is none in theirs. Pope Innocent, in a synodical letter sent to the council of Milevis, says; 'If infants do not eat 'the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, '[meaning in the sacrament,] they have no life in 'them.' Pope Pius, in confirming the council of Trent, says; 'If any man say so, let him be ana- 'thema.' Year after the apostles. 317. 1463.

To deny that those ancient Fathers did it with any opinion of its necessity to the infant's salvation, makes the contradiction yet more palpable; because that is the very thing which they say. The truth, I believe, is, that the Trent Fathers knew that some ancient doctors had commended infants' receiving: but not that one of their own infallible bishops had so absolutely determined it to be necessary for their salvation.

How soon, or how late, the custom of infants' receiving came in, in the Greek church, I know not. I do not remember any one ancient writer of that part of the world that speaks of it; I mean of any genuine book: for I know that a mention of it is got into the Clementine Constitutions. But it is a known thing that they use it now, and have done for several centuries; at least most of the branches of that church.

That which I conceive most probable on the whole matter (referring myself to such as have minded this piece of history more) is;

1. That in Cyprian's time, the people of the 150.

Carthage did oftentimes bring their chil-
ger than ordinary to the communion.
n St. Austin and Innocent's time, it was in
arts given to mere infants. And that this
rom that time for about six hundred years.
some time during this space of six hun-
the Greek church, which was then low
rld, took this custom from the Latin
ich was more flourishing.

4. t the Roman church, about the year 1000, entertaining the doctrine of transubstantiation, let fall the custom of giving the holy elements to infants. And the other western churches, mostly following their example, did the like upon the same account. But that the Greeks, not having the said doctrine, continued, and do still continue, the custom of communicating infants. They think that command of St. Paul, *Let a man examine himself, and so let him eat*, &c. so to be understood, as not to exclude such as are by their age incapable of examining themselves from partaking, but only to oblige all that are capable. As that like command of his, *If any one will not work, let him have nothing given him to eat*, must be so limited to such as are able to work, as that infants, and such as are not capable to work, must have victuals given them, though they do not work.

The most usual way of giving it to infants in the churches where it is now used, is to mix the bread with the wine, and to put to the child's lips a drop or two of that mixture quickly after his baptism; after which he receives no more till the age of discretion.

XVII. From this custom of the ancients givi

the eucharist to infants, the antipædobaptists do draw an argument, (and it is the most considerable that they have for that purpose,) that there is no great stress to be laid on the practice of antiquity in baptizing infants. For they say, since the ancients gave them the eucharist as well as baptism; and yet all Christians are now satisfied that the first was an error in them; what reason have we to regard their opinion or practice in the other?

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But, 1. That is not true, that Christians are satisfied that the ancients did ill in giving infants the eucharist; for very near half the Christians in the world do still continue that practice. The Greek church, the Armenians, the Maronites, the Cophti, the Abassens, and the Muscovites; as is related by the late authors, Jeremias, Brerewood, Alvarez, Rycaut, Heylyn[d], &c. And so, for ought I know, do all the rest of the eastern Christians. And it is probable that the western had done the same,

[d] [E. Brerewood, Enquiries concerning Languages and Religion, 4°. London, 1614, 1622.

Fr. Alvarez, Historia de las cosas de Ethiopia, 8°. Anvers 1557.—Reprinted in the Collection of Voyages by Ramusio, 1588. The original work, in Portuguese, was printed at Lisbon in 1540.—There is a French version, which has gone through several editions.

Sir P. Rycaut, The present State of the Greek and Armenian Churches, 8°. London, 1679. See also his 'History of the present State of the Ottoman Empire,' 8°. London, 1675.

——— his History of the Turkish Empire, from 1623 to 1677, folio, London, 1680.

——— History of the Turks, from the year 1679 to 1699, folio, London, 1700.

P. Heylyn, Microcosmus, 4°. 1621. 1624. Oxford, 1627.

——— Cosmographie, folio, 1665, 1677, &c.]

t been for the doctrine of transubstantiation
p in the church of Rome.
not true that this custom, of giving infants
arist, was in the ancient church received
early or so generally, as baptism of them
have, through all the first part, shewn the
of their baptism; but for their receiving
arist, I know of no other evidences within
our period of antiquity than what I have just now recited. Of which, S rian does not speak of mere infants; and the two are dated after the year of Christ 412; and hat only in the Latin church. It is a strong presumption that there was no use of it, not even in the church of Carthage, in Tertullian's time; because he, who lived there, and pleaded to have the custom of baptizing infants to be set aside, (except in danger of death,) could not have failed to have given his opinion much rather against the admitting them to that other sacrament, if it had then been used.

3. The grounds of these two practices are nothing of equal force. The words of our Saviour to the Jews, John vi. 53, by which Innocent proves the one, do no way appear to belong to the sacramental eating, which was not then instituted. But his words, John iii. 5, do plainly belong to the other. The passover, which answers to the eucharist, though enjoined in general words to all, yet was not understood to belong to the youngest infants. Circumcision and Jewish baptism, which answer to Christian baptism, were given to infants as well as adult. Baptism has in Scripture the notion and character of an initiating or entering sacrament. The eucharist

not so. Now infants are by the express words of Scripture to be initiated, or entered into covenant, Deut. xxix. 10, 11, 12. CHAP. IX. Year after the apostles.

4. However it be, the antipædobaptists cannot make any use of this argument, till they have granted that the ancient Christians did baptize infants. So long as many of them endeavour to keep their people in an opinion that infants' baptism is a new thing, so long they will forbear to tell them that infants did in ancient time receive the eucharist: since, among all the absurdities that ever were held, none ever maintained that, that any person should partake of the communion before he was baptized. And if the people among them shall ever be encouraged to search into the history of the Church, to find some proofs of the one, they will at the same time find much fuller proofs of the other, as attested by much ancienter authors, and practised more universally; and that when one was left off by the churches that began it, the other has been still continued in all the national churches in the world.

CHAP. X.

A summing up of the Evidence that has here been given on both sides.

THOUGH I pretend to manage the part of a relater of the passages for and against infant baptism, rather than of a judge of the force and consequence of them, yet it may be proper, now that I have produced all that I know concerning that matter in the eldest times, to sum up in short, for

the reader, the evidence that has been
th sides.

It appears on one side,

§. I. 1 That as Abraham was taken into cove-
rcumcision, an ordinance appointed for
a. l the male infants of his race, to enter
covenant; so when God did, four hun-
hirty years after, establish anew that
covenant with that nation under the conduct of
ses, he appointed v g[e], which is in the
eek tongue called , to be another ordi-
nance of entering into it. And that the Jews, as they reckoned it one of the ceremonies, whereby their whole nation, infants as well as grown persons, was then entered into covenant; so when they proselyted or discipled any person of the nations, they did use to wash or baptize him; because the law had said, *One law and one manner shall be for you and for the stranger* [or proselyte] *that sojourneth with you*[f]. And if that proselyte had any infant children, male or female, they baptized them, as well as the parents; and they counted and called them *proselytes* or discipled persons, as well as they did the parents. Also, that if they bought, or found, or took in war, any infants whom they intended to make proselytes or disciples in their religion, they did it by baptizing them. For this, see Introduction, §. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7.

This gives light for the understanding of our Saviour's commission [g], *Go and disciple all nations, baptizing them.* Whereas before, only now and then one out of the neighbour nations had been made a disciple or proselyte, they were now all to

[e] Exod. xix. 10. [f] Numb. xv. 16. [g] Matt. xxviii. 19.

be discipled: and (since nothing is said to the contrary) in the same manner as those before had been.

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2. That the Jews did use to call that their baptism by the name of *regeneration*, or *a new birth*. They told the proselytes, that how unclean, sinful, or accursed soever he or his children were before, they were now by this baptism dedicated to the true God, entered into a new covenant with him, put into a new state, and were in all respects as if they had been new born. Also, that the heathens before Christ's time had a custom of baptizing, and that they also called it *regeneration*. See Introduction, §. 6. and book, part i. ch. 4. §. 11.

This gives light to our Saviour's expression, where he, after the Christian baptism now brought into use by John Baptist and himself, tells Nicodemus [h], that to be *regenerated*, or *born again of water and the Spirit*, was absolutely necessary for any one's coming to *the kingdom of God*: and to St. Paul's styling baptism *the washing of regeneration* [i].

3. That accordingly all the ancient Christians, not one man excepted, do take the word *regeneration*, or *new birth*, to signify *baptism*; and *regenerate, baptized*. And that our Saviour's said words to Nicodemus do so stand in the original, and are so understood by all the ancients, as to include all persons, men, women, or children; part i. ch. 2. §. 4, 5, 6. ch. iii. §. 2, 3, 4, 5, 8. ch. iv. §. 3, 6. ch. vi. §. 13. ch. xi. §. 2. ch. xii. §. 8. ch. xiii. §. 2. and all the other chapters.—part ii. ch. vi. §. 1, 7. And that by *the kingdom of God* there is meant *the kingdom*

[h] John iii. 3, 5. [i] Tit. iii. 5.

ry, s proved from the plain words of the con-
t, and from the sense of all ancient interpreters,
rt ii. ch. 6. §. 1.

4. e necessity of baptism to entrance into
ngdom, was a declared Christian doctrine
re t. John had recorded those words of our
part i. ch. 1. §. 2, 3, 7.

nent in the apostles' time, and Justin Martyr
ut forty years after do speak of original sin as
eeting infants, part i. ch. 1. §. 1. ch. 2. §. 1. And
Justin Martyr does spe baptism as being to us
instead of circumcision, pa i. ch. 2. §. 2. So also
does St. Cyprian, part i. 6. §. 1. and Nazianzen,
part i. ch. xi. §. 7. and Basil, ch. xii. §. 5. and
St. Chrysostom, ch. xiv. §. 1. and St. Austin, ibid.
the three last expressly calling it, in St. Paul's
phrase, *the circumcision made without hands:* and
St. Cyprian, the 'spiritual circumcision.' Origen
also says that Christ 'gives us circumcision by bap-
'tism.' Homil. 5. in Jos.

6. Irenæus, born about the time of St. John's death, and probably of Christian parents, is proved particularly to use the word *regenerating* for *baptizing:* and he mentions infants as being ordinarily regenerated, ch. iii. §. 2, 3, 4, 5. And Justin Martyr before him speaks of infants or children as being made disciples to Christ, part i. ch. 2. §. 7.

7. Origen, Ambrose, and Austin, do each of them expressly affirm, that baptizing infants was ordered by the apostles, and practised in their time. And Clemens Alexandrinus plainly intimates the same; part i. ch. iii. §. 9. ch. v. §. 3. ch. xiii. §. 1. . xv. sect. 4. §. 3. item sect. 6. §. 2. Of these, igen had both his father and grandfather Chris-

tians: and he himself was born but eighty-six years after the apostles; so that probably his grandfather was born within the apostles' time; or at least very nigh it, part i. ch. 5. §. 9. And Clemens Alexandrinus flourished himself within ninety-two years of the apostles. CHAP. X. Year after the apostles.

8. Tertullian, though he give his opinion unconstantly, and do at one place advise the delay of infants' baptism, yet at the same place speaks of it as a thing customarily received, part i. ch. 4. §. 3, 4, 5. 9. where he also makes baptism absolutely necessary to salvation. 100.

9. That place of Scripture, 1 Cor. vii. 14. *Else were your children unclean, but now are they holy.* [or sanctified,] is interpreted of their baptism as then given, or to be given before they can actually be reckoned holy; by Tertullian, part i. ch. 4. §. 12. 100.
St. Hierome, part i. ch. 18. §. 4. Paulinus, ibid. 378.
St. Austin, part i. ch. 15. sect. 2. Pelagius, ch. xix. 393.
§. 19. And that ἅγιοι, *holy.* [or saints, or sanctified, 295.
or Christians,] is as much as to say *baptized*, part i. 305.
ch. 11. §. 11; ch. vi. §. 1. Origen also appears so to have understood it, part i. ch. 19. §. 19. No. 4.

10. In St. Cyprian's time, a question being put among sixty-six bishops, whether an infant must be kept till eight days old, before he be baptized; not one was of that opinion, part i. ch. vi. §. 1. And to put the rest together, the words of the council of Eliberis, part i. ch. 7. Of Optatus, ch. ix. §. 2. Of 305.
Gregory Nazianzen, ch. xi. §. 2. 4. 6, 7. Of St. 360.
Ambrose, ch. xiii. §. 1, 2. Of St. Chrysostom, ch. 374.
xiv. §. 1. 3. 5. Of St. Hierome, ch. xv. §. 1; ch. xix. 380.
§. 26. Of St. Austin, ch. xv. *per totum.* Of Boni- 393. 396.
facius, ibid. sect. 5. §. 4. More of St. Austin, ch.

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infant-baptism as one of the corruptions; and accordingly renounced it, and practised only adult-baptism, part ii. ch. 7. §. 5, 6, 7.

An exception that abates in great measure the force of the evidence from these men's practice, is this; that (besides that they were very late and very few) they did what they did on this principle; that no infant, baptized or not, can come to heaven; which is by both the parties now acknowledged to be a great and an uncharitable error.

These evidences, how much or how little soever they weigh, or avail toward the determining the point, are however to be reckoned among true ones: that is, they are true, and not mistaken matters of fact.

III. But there is, as I said, another sort of evidences and reasons against infant-baptism, which are apt to weigh much with one that understands not the state of the times spoken of, and can read only the vulgar translation of the Scripture; and such a man cannot much be blamed for taking them as good reason or evidence: but they lose their force with any one that is not under those disadvantages. And such I reckon these following:

1. There are several ancient books that say nothing at all about infant-baptism, neither for it nor against it. And it is wonder, say some antipædobaptists, if it were common in those times, that these as well as others should not mention it.

A pompous recital of the names of these makes an unlearned antipædobaptist think that they are so many authors on his side. But any one that understands how the ancient Christian writers

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12. The Pelagians, who denied that infants have any need of forgiveness of sin, and were most of all pressed with that argument, 'Why are they then 'baptized?' did never offer to deny that they are to be baptized: but do expressly grant that they have ever been wont to be baptized; and that no Christian, no not even any sectary, did ever deny it, part i. ch. xix. §. 24. 26. 29, 30, 31, 32. 35, &c. ad 40. Part ii. ch. 4. §. 1. 3. Year after the apostles. 315.

13. And for the other heretics of these times; there appears not (by examining the many varieties of opinions that they held) any sign that any of them that used any baptism at all, denied it to infants, part i. ch. 15. sect. 4. §. 4; ch. xvi. §. 1, 2; ch. xxi. §. 1. 4. From 60 to 300.

14. It is held by all these ancient Christians, that no children dying unbaptized can come to the kingdom of heaven, part i. ch. 4. §. 3. 6, 7, 8; ch. vi. §. 9. 13, 14; ch. xi. §. 6, 7; ch. xii. §. 5; ch. xiii. §. 2; ch. xiv. §. 2; ch. xv. sect. 3. §. 2; ch. xvi. §. 3, 4, 5, 6; ch. xviii. §. 4, 5; ch. xix. §. 24. 28; ch. xx. §. 6; ch. xxiii. §. 3; part ii. ch. 6. §. 4, 5, 6. St. Austin in the last of these places says, there was in this matter 'Christianorum populorum con-'cordissima fidei conspiratio,' the most uniform consent of all Christian people [or nations]. And that the Pelagians themselves were overswayed by it, and owned it to be true.

Vincentius Victor was the only man that is known to affirm the contrary. He maintained once, that by God's extraordinary mercy and the prayers of the church this might be obtained: but he also recanted, ch. xx. §. 3, 4, 5; yet they all grant that infants so dying have little or (as some say) no punishment. 318.

Justin Martyr, though not speaking directly of it, do mention things from whence inferences may be drawn for the proof of it. And have now also produced one from another of them: viz. Clemens Alexandrinus.

The very same remark, I think, ought to be made upon that objection against infant-baptism which the antipædobaptists do much insist on; viz. that St. Luke, in reciting the lives and acts of the apostles, does not mention any infants baptized by them. Whoever observes the tenor of that history, and considers the state of those times, will perceive that St. Luke's aim is to give a summary account of the main and principal passages of their lives; and of those passages especially, in which they found the greatest opposition. And in such a history, (which is but short in all,) who can look for an account of what children they baptized? Suppose that the life and actions of some renowned and laborious modern bishop or doctor were to be written (say of bishop Ussher, Stillingfleet, &c.), and that, in a volume ten times as long as the book of the Acts of the Apostles: who will expect to find there any account of what children they christened? And yet there is no doubt but they did christen hundreds, or (if we take in what was done by ministers deputed by them) thousands. The main business of an apostle was to preach, convert, attest the truth of Christ's resurrection, miracles, &c.; and *not to baptize*, as St. Paul says[n]. The baptizing of such as the apostles had convinced, and especially of their children, would of course be left to deputies. Yet of the s baptisms (which are all that St. Paul is mentioned

[n] 2 Cor. i. 17.

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18. This also makes one evidence; that the proofs which some of the antipædobaptists have, after their best search, pretended to bring of any church or any sect of Christians in these elder times, that did not baptize infants, are found to be falsely recited, or mistaken, or not to the purpose, part i. ch. 15. sect. 4. §. 3, 4: part ii. ch. 1. §. 2, 3, 4, 5; ch. ii. §. 15; ch. iv. §. 1, 2, 3.

And even the instances of particular men, whom they would prove to have been born of Christian parents, and yet not baptized in infancy, do all (or at least all but one) fail of any tolerable proof, part ii. ch. 3. *per totum*.

19. The sense of all modern learned men that do read these ancient books, except those few specified, is, that these books do give clear proof that infant-baptism was customary in the times of those authors, and from the apostles' time. part ii. ch. 2. §. 1. 16. There are but three or four that think otherwise. And Menno himself, the father of the present antipædobaptists, granted this to be true, part ii. ch. 8. §. 5.

20. Lastly, as these evidences are for the first four hundred years, in which there appears only one man, Tertullian, that advised the delay of infant-baptism in some cases; and one Gregory, that did perhaps practise such delay in the case of his children, but no society of men so thinking or so practising: nor no one man saying it was unlawful to baptize infants: so in the next seven hundred years, there is not so much as one man to be found that either spoke for, or practised, any such delay. But all the contrary, part i. ch. 22. *per totum*: part ii. ch. 7. §. 1.

appear to people of little reading, and to ave but a shallow and superficial know- of he state of the ancient times, to have a eat w ht against the belief of any general prac- e nts' baptism at that time; because it had h a ffect upon myself. I thought, upon the st re g of this place, nothing could be a plainer oof t the Christians then did not commonly baptize their nfancy, than this evi- dence of a church people; a considerable part of whom had been catechised from their in- fancy, and were not yet bap tized. Such a number of heathen converts had been easily to be accounted for: but these seemed born of Christian parents, because he says, 'From a child catechised in the 'word.'

But all this argument lost its force with me, when by further reading I perceived (and wondered at myself afterward, as is common, why I had not perceived before) that which I shew in the same chapter, and also part ii. ch. 3. sect. 1. to have been the state of the world as to religion at that time: viz. that beside those that were heathens on one side, and those that were professed or baptized Christians on the other, there was a vast number of a middle sort: half converts, heathen men converted thus far, that they were convinced that Christianity was the true religion, and that they must be baptized into it some time or other: but not being willing as yet to abandon their lusts, they put it off from time to time. These men did, as many wicked men do now, instruct their children in the godly precepts of religion; but they could not offer them to baptism till they were baptized themselves. And

those that St. Basil speaks to, had been the children of such men. CHAP. X.

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We see a woful example in our churches of a much like nature. Many wicked men do at times resolve to become serious some time or other: and then they think they will come to the holy communion, and engage themselves to a godly life. They put off this from time to time, many times till death seizes them. These men, if they had been born of heathens, and not yet baptized, but yet had come to the knowledge of Christianity, would put off their baptism as they now do the other sacrament; much at the rate as the fathers of those to whom St. Basil preaches had done their baptism, and as he complains the sons also, to whom he preaches, did. And as we see now, that nigh half the world of nominal Christians are such procrastinators; so there seems to have been not a much less proportion among the catechumens then. And as the Fathers do speak of those who were during this dilatory course seized with death, as lost men; so I doubt it is but poor comfort that we can give to men so seized, that have for like reasons all their life long put off the receiving the communion; viz. because they would not yet repent.

But still this state of religion in St. Basil's time does not prove, that any who were once baptized themselves, did delay or put off the baptizing of their children.

4. Some arguments against infants' baptism have all their strength from that imperfect conception of things, which arises from one's reading only the vulgar translations of Scripture, and do vanish when one consults the originals. That commission

our S[illegible]our to the apostles, Matt. xxviii. 19. which is in the English, *Go—and teach all nations: baptizing them*, &c.—*teaching them to observe*, &c. as it affords on one side this argument for pædobaptism; 'infants are part of the nations; and so to be baptized by this commission:' so on the other side it gives occasion to the antipædobaptists to retort, and say; 'infants are such a part of 'the nation as are not capable of being taught; and 'so not to be baptized.'

But the word which is translated *teach*, in the first of those clauses, has a peculiar signification in the original, and is not the same word as that which is translated *teaching*, in the second[p]: but signifies much like what we say in English; to *enter any one's name* as a scholar, disciple, or proselyte, to such a master, school, or profession. Now the common language of the Jews, (in which language it was that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel,) as it does not admit of this phrase, *an infant is taught*, or *instructed*; so it very well allows of this other; *such or such an infant is entered a disciple*, or *made a proselyte* to such a profession or religion. And the Jews did commonly call a heathen man's infant, whom they had taken and circumcised and baptized, *a young proselyte*; as I shewed in the introduction. And St. Peter, speaking against the imposing of circumcision on the heathen converts and their children, words it thus; *to put a yoke upon the neck of the disciples*: whereas it was infants especially, on whom this yoke was attempted to be put, Acts xv. 10. And St. Justin, as

[p] [In the first clause we read μαθητεύσατε, in the second διδάσκοντες.]

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I shewed in the first part, chap. ii. §. 6, expressly mentions infants, or at least children, as *made disciples*, in the very same word that is used by St. Matthew in that place. And when he speaks of people *baptized in the name of Christ*, uses the same word; μαθητευόμενοι εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ. As in his *Dialog.* p. 57. *ed. Steph* [9]. He says; 'God 'has not hitherto brought on, nor does yet bring 'on, the day of judgment; γινώσκων ἔτι καθ' ἡμέραν τι-'νὰς μαθητευομένους εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ. 'Knowing "that there are still every day some" dis-'cipled into the name of his Christ, "and withdrawn 'from the way of error." Where that he by "dis-'cipled in the name of Christ," means, "baptized in 'his name," is apparent by the next words, which 'are; *Who do also receive gifts, every one as he is 'worthy, when they are enlightened* [or baptized. 'φωτιζόμενοι] *in the name of this Christ. For one 'receives the spirit of understanding; another of 'counsel; another of strength; another of healing; 'another of foreknowing,* [or foretelling things, 'Προγνώσεως]' &c. These and such like gifts of the Spirit did, it seems, continue in his time to be given to Christians at their baptism.

And whereas the main objection against this sense of the word μαθητὴς and μαθητεύεσθαι in the case of infants, that they should be understood to be discipled to Christ by baptism before any actual teaching of them, is, that that word is seldom (the objectors say, never) used without including present actual teaching in its signification.

It is true that it is far oftener used in the case of

[9] [Dialogus cum Tryphone Judæo, sect. 39. p. 136. edit. Benedict.]

ch as at that time learn, or have learned, or en t : and so are all words like or parallel to : a when we say, Such a master's scholar, pupil, rvant, prentice, &c.; such a captain's soldier, .; these words are far oftener used in the case f present learning, serving, bearing arms, &c., be- use there is oftener occasion to speak of them in at state. But yet it is truly and properly said of any lad, that he is such a man's pupil or scholar, as soon as he is entered and consigned to learn of him, though he has not yet begun: such a master's servant or apprentice, as soon as he is bound to him; though he does not yet practise or learn any part of his trade, or do any service: such a captain's soldier, as soon as he is listed; though he does not yet bear arms.

In like manner the word *μαθητὴς Χριστοῦ*, 'a disciple of Christ,' is far oftener used in the case of such as have already begun to learn and practise his religion: because there is oftener occasion in books to speak of something which they do or say, or which happens to them during the time of their discipleship, than there is of that first act of their entering: but it may truly and properly be used concerning one that is now dedicated, consigned, agreed, and entered to learn and practise it, though he has not yet begun. And it is so used when there is occasion to speak of such a case.

If any one will diligently compare these three texts, Matt. x. 42; Mark ix. 41; Luke ix. 48; he will perceive these three terms—the *receiving any one as μαθητὴν, a disciple*—and the *receiving him as τοῦ Χριστοῦ ὄντα, belonging to Christ*—and the *receiving him ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ, in the name of Christ*—to be

used by our Saviour as terms equivalent, signifying the same thing. And he will there see also a child so received by our Saviour himself. CHAP. X. Year after the apostles.

As for the language of the Old Testament; a *child*, or *little one*, has the term given him of being *entered into a covenant*, Deut. xxix. 11, 12. Now in that language a *covenanter*, or *son of the covenant;* and a *proselyte*, and a *disciple*, do signify the same thing. An infant can for the present no more *covenant*, than he can *learn:* yet he has the name of a *covenanter*, being entered into the covenant by his parents.

Beside the instance that I gave before of the phrase being ordinary in the Jews' language to call the infant child that was dedicated and baptized, *a proselyte*, though he was not yet capable of present learning, but only was consigned to learn, there is (as Dr. Lightfoot in his *Horæ Hebraicæ* quotes) in *Bab. Schabb.*[r] fol. 31, an apposite example of such a way of speaking: where one comes to Rabbi Hillel, and entreats him;

'Fac me discipulum; ut me doceas.' *Make me [or enter me] thy disciple; that thou mayest teach me.*

So that it was an usual acceptation of the word *proselyte*, or *disciple*, in the language which our Saviour spoke, and in which St. Matthew wrote.

It is said, Luke ix. 57, *It came to pass, as they went in the way, a certain man said unto him, Lord, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest.* Now St. Matthew calls this man, and another who offered himself at the same time, *disciples*. For he,

[r] [Meaning the chapter of the Babylonian Talmud, entitled *Schabbath.*]

viii. 19, 20, 21. having recited the same that Luke does, concerning the first man, subjoins immediately; *Another of his disciples,* ἕτερος δὲ τῶν μαθητῶν αὐτοῦ, *said unto him, Lord, suffer me first to go and bury my father.* The latter is expressly c a *disciple* by St. Matthew; who calling him *anot disciple,* does implicitly call the former likewise *a disciple:* though it seems to be the first meeting that the with our Saviour: and neither of them had gone any further than to express a purpose of following him.

215. Eusebius, in his Demonstratio Evangelica, lib. iii. c. 5, brings an instance of one that makes a proposal, or sets up for a teacher of any art or science. Ὅ τε γὰρ διδάσκων ἐπαγγελίαν μαθήματός τινος ἐπαγγέλλεται· Οἵ τε μαθηταὶ μαθημάτων ὀρεγόμενοι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς τῷ διδασκάλῳ προσφέροντες ἐπιτρέπουσιν. 'One 'gives out that he will teach some art. The disciples, 'being desirous of the skill, offer and commit them-'selves to the master.' They are here called *disciples* before they had begun to learn any thing; only they were appointed to learn.

In Numb. iii. 28. the Kohathites were set apart to be keepers of the charge of the sanctuary. The infants, as well as their fathers, have the title given them of *keepers* of that charge. For so are the words; *In the number of all the males, from a month old and upward, were eight thousand and six hundred, keeping the charge of the sanctuary.*

So little do grammatical derivations of words signify to limit the sense of them; which rather be taken from the common use of them in books and languages from whence they are qu

Μαθητὴς is derived from μανθάνω, 'to learn.' Therefore, may a grammarian perhaps say, it cannot be applied but to one that does now actually learn. But we must rather see in what latitude St. Matthew (who, or whose interpreter, was, I think, the first that formed the derivative μαθητεύω from it in any active transitive signification) does use the word. And he uses it not only for present learners, but for some that were appointed to learn. The word has indeed always a reference to learning; but does not always suppose that learning to be at that present time, when any one is made or styled a disciple. CHAP. X. Year after the apostles.

Another thing that causes in vulgar people a prejudice in understanding those words of our Saviour is this: A man that cannot read books is apt to form all his notions of things by what he sees in his own time and country. So an illiterate man (in England for example) hearing of the apostles being sent into the nations to disciple and baptize them, he imagines it like some preacher's coming into England, as it is now, to preach and baptize the people. Now this notion naturally creates in his mind a supposal that Christians did not baptize their children in infancy, because they are not now to be baptized after they are taught. He does not animadvert to that difference which appears by conceiving all those nations to which the apostles were sent, as heathens; who must be baptized after they were taught, having had no fathers to baptize them before. This indeed looks gross; but one may perceive plain footsteps and traces of such conceptions

baptism, even from that text by which (among other) the Fathers did never fail to prove it. I mean, from those words of our Saviour, John iii. 5, which are in the English, *Except a man be born again of water*, &c. They catch hold of the word *man* there, and say, it is declared necessary for every one after he is a man grown. I would not have any antipædobaptist, that keeps a more refined conversation, think that I feign or impose this on them. It is certainly true, that some ignorant people in country places do not only urge this, but do say that it is inculcated to them by their teachers.

I shall not stand to shew the mistake of this, having said more than so palpable a misunderstanding of the words, as they are in the original, can deserve, part i. ch. 6. §. 13; part ii. ch. 6. §. 1.

6. To enervate an argument taken out of Scripture for infant-baptism, is equivalent to the forming of one against it; and does as much tend to the excusing of any illiterate man, if the proofs which should have convinced him that children are to be baptized, be eluded either by translations that give an imperfect sense, or by false interpretations, the falsehood whereof he cannot perceive. I shall give three instances:

1. In that text, 1 Cor. vii. 14, which is rendered in English, *Now are your children holy*. The word here translated *holy* is far more often in St. Paul's Epistles translated *saints;* and so almost all (not quite all) the ancients do understand St. Paul here, as if he had said in English, 'Now are your 'children *saints*.' They observe, moreover, that with St. Paul this term *saints* is generally used another word for *Christians*. As, *To the saint*

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5. There has been an argument raised against

| : *baptized*, and *regeneration* for *baptism*, not by all the Fathers of the first four hundred rs, but, I think, for above one thousand years wing. So here was a plain place of Scripture baptizing of all persons that should enter the ngdom of God.

But even this has been in great measure defeated a new interpretation, much of the nature of that by which the Quakers do elude all those places that speak of the other sacrament. For as they, by the words, *bread*, *wine*, *eating*, *drinking*, &c., do force themselves to mean some mystical or metaphorical thing: as for *bread*, something else, (*internal bread*, I think,) and so of the rest: so the new interpreters of this place do by the word *water* here. In short, they have brought it to this; that the text does not signify baptism at all, nor any thing about it. And the notion and signification of the words *regenerate* and *regeneration* is by degrees so altered in common speech, that he that reads them in any modern book does not know nor understand them again, when he meets with them in any ancient one. From whence proceeds the wondering that some have made at St. Austin, when reading occasionally some chapter of him, they have found that he takes all that are baptized to be regenerate: thinking he means by *regenerate* the same that they do, viz. converted in heart, &c.

But at this rate of altering the sense of words any text of Scripture whatever may be eluded. The most fundamental article of the New Testament—*I believe in Jesus Christ*. It is but to take the words *Jesus Christ* in a new sense for *the light within a man's self*; and then, if he believe in himself, he

holds the article. Therefore the words of Scripture, or of any old book, must be taken in that sense in which they were current at that time. Which because it is a thing that vulgar people, of whom I speak, cannot inquire into; therefore I put this way of evading the force of this text among the answers to it that may pass with them; but it appears vain to those that are acquainted with the old use of the word.

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3. There is another interpretation yet, by which the force of that text is evaded. And that is by such as do grant indeed that the words *born again of water*, &c., are to be understood of baptism; but they say that by *the kingdom of God* there, is to be understood, not *the kingdom of glory hereafter in heaven*; but the church here, or the dispensation of the Messiah. So that it is as much as to say; Except any one be baptized, he cannot enter into, or be a member of, the church. I shew, part ii. ch. vi. §. 1. N°. 2. that this interpretation is plainly inconsistent with the context: and also that it avails not this cause, if it were allowed.

These last mentioned reasons, evidences, and arguments, though I think them not justly pleadable against infant-baptism, yet I thought it fair to set them down. Let every one pass his judgment. And if they have not any real weight in true arguing, yet the appearance of it which they carry, does serve to make people pass the more favourable censure on those of the antipædobaptists, who have no means of understanding the history of the ancient times, and can read only the vulgar translations of Scripture, and do light only on such expositors as I have mentioned.

here what are called *divisions* in one verse are called *heresies* in the other. Let any one read this xt for the meaning of the word: and then let him rn back again to Gal. v. 19. where adultery, murer, and heresies are declared subject to the same ndemnation, of exclusion from God's kingdom.

The sinfulness of schism is so plainly, fully, and equently set forth by our Saviour and his apostles, that there are no Christian writers or teachers of any church whatever, but what do, if they are required to speak, own that it is in its nature a mortal sin; even the leaders of schismatical congregations dare not deny it. If they did, they would be convicted of denying plain Scripture. But as archbishop Tillotson does somewhere [k] observe of the popish preachers, that though they do own in their writings and disputes with the protestants, that repentance and amendment of life is necessary to the forgiveness of sins; yet in their discourses to their people they say so much of confession to a priest, &c., and so little of amendment of life, that the people think all of the one, and little of the other: so there are several teachers, who, among all the sins that they forewarn their people of, do so seldom preach against schism and division, so seldom quote those places of Scripture that set forth the guilt of it; and when they do, do touch that point so tenderly: that the people, if they do not trust their own eyes in reading God's word, and taking it all together, are apt to forget that schism is any sin at all: or at most, they conceive of it as of a little one. All the Christians near our Saviour's time had a quite

[k] [See his Sermon No. 108, on Job xxxiii. 27. printed in vol. ii. p. 29. of his Works, fol. London, 1714, &c.]

contrary sentiment. They, when they gathered up into one short draught or creed the most fundamental and necessary truths that they were to hold, put in this for one; 'I believe the holy catholic 'church, and the communion of saints;' i. e. I own the universal church, and that all Christians in it ought to hold communion one with another. For the word *saints* is in Scripture and all other old Christian books used as another word for Christians: and 'the communion of saints' means nothing else in the Creed but the communion of Christians. He then that believes other things to be duties, and this to be none, ought, when he repeats the Creed, to say; I believe all the rest of it, but I do not own 'the communion of saints' as any article of Christian faith.

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II. 2. Whereas the sinfulness of schism in general will not bear a dispute: but all people that separate, do, if they be forced to speak, own, as I said, schism to be a great sin; but do say withal that their separation is not schism in the Scripture-sense, because the church, from which they have separated, is such, as from which one ought to separate: and whereas the reason that is usually given of the necessity of a separation of one from another, is, that one party holds tenets and opinions which the other cannot assent to, or administers some of the divine offices in such ways as the other does not approve; but takes the opinions to be errors, and the said administrations to be grounded on those errors: the thing to be inquired is, whether these opinions, which are judged to be errors, be such as do overthrow the foundation of Christian faith. For if they be such, the plea must be allowed. False doc-

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or his death for our sins, or the necessity of repentance and a good life, or the belief of the resurrection and judgment to come; the apostle would never have bid us receive such, or hold communion with them.

But there are, besides those that hold such doctrines, pernicious to the foundation, abundance of Christians that hold the same faith in all fundamental points, who do yet live in division and separation, disowning and renouncing one another's communion. It is pity but these should be reduced to the unity which Christ's body requires.

Now there is no other way in the world to effect this, but only that which the apostle here prescribes, viz. that they receive one another, notwithstanding the different opinions they may hold about lesser matters. There have other ways been tried, ways of human policy; but all with wretched success. They have been tried with so much obstinacy, as almost to ruin the church.

The church of Rome has tried to reduce all men to unity, by forcing them to be all of one opinion, and to submit their judgments to her dictates; some of which are things which the Scripture teaches not, and some directly contrary to it. They use to this purpose, first, disputations; and when that will not do, then fire and fagot, or other cruelties. We have lived to see what tyrannous, unchristian, and bloody work a neighbour prince has made [m] to bring all his subjects to be of one religion, (as he calls it,) that is, all of one opinion in all things delivered by that church; which has been

[m] [Alluding to the transactions in France, connected with the revocation of the edict of Nantes, &c.]

far from limiting herself to fundamental articles. And we have seen the event; he has made some hypocrites and apostates, who do upon all occasions shew the regret of their conscience; some refugees, and some martyrs. This way therefore of bringing people to glorifying God unanimously, by drawing up a set of particular opinions, and forcing all men to subscribe to them, is no successful way. It requires of men what God in Scripture never requires. It has filled the world with blood and enmity, and has made Christendom a shambles. St. Paul with all his apostolical authority does not, we see, require it; but says, in such things let each be fully persuaded in his own mind, (meaning, till one by reason do convince the other, or be convinced by him,) and in the mean time receive and own one another as brethren.

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Your zeal the apostles.

Another way that has been tried, is quite on the contrary, and runs to the other extreme. It is this. They that are of different opinions in these lesser matters, say thus; we will not *receive each other* at all, i. e. not to any Christian communion; and yet we will obtain the end that St. Paul would have, viz. the setting forth *the glory of God*, by another way as good. Since we are of this opinion and you of that, do you make one church of Christ, and we will make another: we will own no church-communion with you, nor you with us; we will neither receive you, nor desire to be received by you. And yet we will live in peace, and try which shall come to heaven soonest.

Now this is on the other side the most contrary

but one head, never designed to have any more but one body. Here we see already two, totally distinct, for they receive not one another. And observe the consequence of such a principle. They continue but a very little while, before that in each of these churches, some members differing from the rest in opinion about some new-started matter, make a subdivision, as necessary as the first division was. Then the church which out of one became two, out of two is propagated to four; and by the same reason, and by following on the same principle, there will quickly be forty. Nay, it is certain, and will be plain to any one that considers, that by driving that principle home, of making separate churches, of all different opinions, it will come to pass at last, that there will not be any two men of one church. For if all things relating to religion were to be canvassed, there are not any two men in the world of the same mind in all things.

The fault therefore of this way is evident. They are in the right in supposing that there will always be variety of opinions; and that it is in vain to think by any force to prevent it. But to think that the number of churches must hold pace with the number of opinions, is a mistake of wretched consequence. It makes Christ's church, which should be a compacted body, a rope of sand. It perpetuates for ever those strifes and janglings about opinions, which in one communion would quickly cease: for each party, when they have thus taken sides, will always strive to justify their own side. It is that which the ancient Christians call, 'the setting up 'altar against altar.' It gives so advantage handle to the common enemy, that he desir

other, to ruin any church that is so divided into parties. St. Paul well apprehended the consequence of such dividings, when he[n] besought the Corinthians by the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that they would not admit of any such method: and when he entreated the Christians at Rome[o], that if any one among them did go about such a practice, the effect should be, that every one of them should avoid him. In a word, where Christianity is in this state, it is in the next degree to dissolution.

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And whereas the proposers or defenders of this course do say; we may live in peace, though we do renounce one another's communion in religion: this is neither practicable for any long time, nor is it sufficient for a Christian's purpose. Not practicable; for, as our Saviour has said, a house so divided cannot stand; so we see by experience the heart-burnings, and hatred, and emulations, and bitter zeal, which the separate parties do always shew one against another. Not sufficient; because Christ requires that all his disciples should be as brethren, and as limbs of the same body, which is more than outward peace and quietness. The heathen neighbour cities that worshipped several gods, would sometimes make a league of peace, and say, Do you worship your God, and we will worship ours, without meddling with one another's religion: but it is horrible so to divide Christ.

It remains therefore that there is no other way to answer the design of Christ, than that Christians of the same faith do hold communion and receive one another, notwithstanding their various opinions. And if any one object against his joining with the

[n] 1 Cor. i. 10. [o] Rom. xvi. 17.

...ablished church where he lives, that he is of one opinion, and they of another in many things; he ...eeds only to mind, that this is the very case that ...st. Paul was here speaking of, when he bids them *...ceive one another*. They that he speaks to, were ...wise of different opinions; and it was on occasion of such difference that he gives them this command of not separating for them.

Before I go any further, I shall observe two corollaries that do naturally follow from what has been said.

One is, that in far the greatest number of the divided churches and parties that are in Christendom, the sin, the mischief, and the danger to their souls does not consist so much in the tenets and opinions for which they differ, as in the divisions which they make for them, the separations, the mutual excommunications, or renouncing of one another's communion. This I conceive to be so clear a truth, that whereas if I had a friend or brother, or any one for whose eternal good I were most concerned, that differed in some such opinions from the church where he lived, and, as I thought, from the truth: and yet did resolve and declare (as the old English puritans did) that he would make no disturbance or separation; I should think it a thing of no great consequence whether ever his opinion were rectified or not: yet, if I found that he were inclined to separate, I should think hour ought to be taken, as for his life, to hinder

other is; that those churches which do im- terms of communion, (I mean of lay-com- ,) the fewest subscriptions, or indeed none at

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all, to any doctrines, beside the fundamental doctrines of Christian faith; have in that respect the best and most excellent constitution. It is fitted for the fulfilling of this command of the apostle. To do otherwise, is to refuse what he here prescribes, of *receiving one that is weak in the faith.* For supposing those doctrines to be true, yet he may think otherwise; and then he cannot be received without affirming what is in his conscience a falsehood. He is therefore rejected; and as far as the church can go, lost. Whereas if he had been received without such a condition, he might either have learned better in time; or if he had not, that error would not finally have much hurt him, for it is supposed to be no fundamental one. Nor would it have hurt the church; for he is supposed to be one that desired to be received, and that would not have made any schism for it. I do not pretend to know the history of the constitutions of the many churches that now are; but of all that I do know, the church of England is in this respect the best constituted. That church requires of a layman no declaration, subscription, or profession, but only of the baptismal covenant. Any person, when he is baptized, must by himself, if he be of age, by his sponsors, if an infant, profess to renounce the Devil and all wickedness, to believe the Creed, and to keep God's commandments. There is nothing required after this to his full communion, save that he learn, and answer to the questions of, a very short catechism; of one clause whereof I must by and by say something. Nobody can in other matters compel him to subscribe the opinions which the church thinks truest, nor to recant those which he thinks truest.

3. The same that has been said of different [illegible] in doctrinal points, not fundamental, may [illegible]e [illegible]d to the several ways of ordering the public wo[illegible]p. prayers, administration of the sacraments, &c. which ways it does as naturally fall out, that s[illegible]e do like one best, and some another; as it [illegible]s of the foresaid different opinions, that some [illegible]nk one true, and some the other. The same r[illegible] for avoiding of schism must therefore be applied here as [illegible] with this difference; of those opinions, there was no necessity that the man, I spoke of, should be required to assent to such as the generality thought the truest; but here the nature of the thing requires, that if he hold communion, he must join in the prayers and other service. I must divide the difficulties that may arise upon this, into two cases.

One man does not apprehend any thing sinful, unlawful, or erroneous, in any of the prayers or service; but yet he likes some other ceremonies, orders, and ways of worship that are used in some other nations or churches, better than he does those of his own. And therefore he holds it lawful, and useful for spiritual advancement, to gather together a number of men of a like taste and relish with himself, and make a separate body by themselves.

This man has but a very little and slight sense of the sin of schism; scandalously little. Either he has not read what the Scripture says of it; or else dulness or prejudice has taken off the edge of his apprehension, so as that he felt nothing at the reading of those earnest and moving passages of our Saviour and the apostles on that subject. To confes the orders and service of a church to be lawful, a

h using in most things the same ceremonies
t those of Geneva do. They had indeed various
ges in the churches of several countries; but a
nrist n of Africa, if he came to Greece, complied
tne Grecian ceremonies, though he might like
his own better. Or, if it happened otherwise that
he liked those of Greece better than his own, yet
upon his return home he submitted to the rules and
customs of his own church, and did not set up a new
sect out of a pride that he had learned a better way.
If he thought it was better, or if it really were so,
yet to make a separation for it did ten times more
mischief than that amendment could recompense.
If there be any usage or order in a church which
may be altered for the better, for any man in his
station to do his endeavour that this may be done
by common vote and consent, was ever accounted
laudable. And where the corruption is got into the
vitals of religion, it is true that it must be done by
a separation, rather than not at all. But in other
cases, where it is not a gangrene, he that goes about
to cure the body by tearing it limb from limb, is
himself the most dangerously infected member, and
ought to be first cut off, by St. Paul's direction[r], if
he had any skill. As we say of sermons, that must
be an excellent one indeed, in which there is nothing
that might have been said better; and yet that must
be a sorry one indeed, out of which one may not
receive some wholesome direction; or of cities, there
is hardly any whose laws and government are not
capable of amendment in some things; and yet very
few so ill-governed, where an industrious and peace-
able man may not enjoy so much quiet as to get a
livelihood by his diligence: so that must be a pure

[r] Rom. xvi. 17.

church indeed, whose orders and rules have no fault or imperfection at all; and yet that must be a sinful church, with which a good Christian may not communicate; or under whose doctrine and discipline he may not by a godly diligence work out his salvation. Of the first sort there is none in the world. And, as I hope, no protestant national church of the latter sort; none, I mean, with which a good Christian may not communicate, provided they will admit him without requiring his declared assent to all their tenets. For errors they may have, and some of them hold some opinions contrary to what others do; yet since none of these do overthrow the foundation of Christian faith, neither do they mix any idolatry in their worship. If any party of the members of any of these churches (the church of Denmark for example) should in opposition to the general body of the church there, say, "We like the "ways and methods of some other church (the "church of England for example) better;" and should thereupon make a schism from their fellow members, it would be a sinful one. And it is no other in ours here that do the like. The church of England do declare thus concerning the rites and ceremonies which they have ordered: 'In these and 'doings we condemn no other nations, nor prescribe 'any thing but to our own people only. For we 'think it convenient, that every country should use 'such ceremonies as they shall think best to the set-'ting forth of God's honour and glory, and to the 'reducing of the people to a most perfect and godly 'living &c. and that those churches

which from time to time they perceive to be
'me abused; as in men's ordinances it often
'chanceth diversely in divers countries.' They say
moreover; 'Although the keeping or omitting of a
'ceremony, in itself considered, is but a small
'thing; yet the wilful and contemptuous transgres-
'sion and breaking of a common order and disci-
'pline is no small offence before God.' This plainly shews that they would not approve of a schism that should be set up [illegible] church, though it were for the introducing of those ways of worship which they have prescribed. And many of the chiefest men of other protestant churches have made the like declaration on their side. This is the ancient way of a catholic correspondence and unity between the churches. They do all judge thus; that in those various ways of all managing the public worship, though one may think one the best, and another another, yet that the worst of them with unity is better than the best without it.

This may be explained by a comparison taken from temporal affairs. There are in several nations several forms of state government; one is ruled by monarchy, another by a senate, others by more popular ways. It is common for men of reading, or travel, or conversation, to discourse of these ways. One likes one best, and another another. And so far there is no harm done; because each of them resolves as yet, that whichsoever he likes best, he will live quietly under that where he is placed. But if one of these who lives under either of these forms do go about to draw a party after him, and says, "We "will live no longer under this form of government; "we know a better way, and we will set up that;"

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he is now turned a traitor, and must be suppressed by the policy of any government whatsoever.

Or in an army; if the question be, whether it be best to march this way against the enemy, or that way, or lie still; each one in the council is free to give his opinion. And it may be, that he whose counsel is not approved by the majority, gives advice which is really the better. Yet if the resolution be once taken, and the general lead out accordingly one way; if any officers go about to draw a part of the army after them, and say, "We will march "the other way," they are now mutineers and public enemies, how good soever their advice were. Because either of the ways with the union of the army is better than the dividing of it: that brings certain ruin and confusion.

The Scripture and experience too do shew that the case is the same in reference to a church. Only as in the army, if the soldiers do understand by any plain and certain discovery that the general officers are traitors, and have agreed to betray their prince's cause, a revolt from them is in such case fidelity to their sovereign: so if a church do bring into their worship plain idolatry, or into their doctrines such positions as destroy the foundation of Christian faith or godliness; this is treason against our chief Lord, and justifies separation from such a church. But in the case now put, of a man that allows the established way of worship to be lawful, but pretends to set up a better, and thinks a separation justifiable on that account; such a man is so far from being fit to

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to think, that if he judge one way the best, another as wise as he will be for another way, and a third party for another, &c. But God is a God of order, and not of such confusions.

What I quoted just now of the declaration of the church of England in respect to foreign churches, does visibly shew the mistake of those that argue that we cannot count those among us that separate schismatics; but that we shall by so doing condemn those foreign protestant churches, which differ from us in some of the same ceremonies as the dissenters at home do, of schism likewise. God forbid we should do that. It is not the use or disuse of this or that ceremony, order, &c., but it is the renouncing of communion for such use or disuse, that constitutes a schismatic. Now we and the foreign protestant churches do not do that. For one of us, whom providence should bring into their nation, would communicate with them, though their ceremonies and ways of worship are not altogether the same as ours; and they, when they come hither, do the same with us. And such churches, or such Christians, that are always ready to do so, have always a communion one with another in heart, in purpose, in inclination and acknowledgment; which they are ready to bring into act by corporal presence and joining, when providence makes it practicable. And this is, or ought to be, the temper between all churches that differ not in essentials. Now this is the only sense in which that saying is true; 'That 'there is no schism, where the differences are not 'in the fundamentals of religion;' i. e. Any two churches of different nations are always supposed to be in communion, and not in a schism, so long

as they differ not in fundamentals; because it is supposed that the members of one of these would (in case they were to travel into the other nation) for unity's sake communicate with those other. Year after the apostles.

But when people of the same place, city, parish, &c., do actually separate, and renounce communion with the church when they are on the spot; this plea cannot be used in their case. To say, these are not schismatics, because they differ not in fundamentals, is to put a new meaning on the word *schism*. They are not heretics indeed, as the church-use has now distinguished the use of those words. But the Donatists, Novatians, &c., have been always counted schismatics, though they differed not in essentials.

Those that differ from any true church in essentials, and do separate or are excommunicated for such difference, are, in respect of their opinions, more faulty than those we have been speaking of. But those that separate for smaller matters, are, in respect of the mere schism or separation, (if we could abstract that from the fault of the opinion,) the more faulty of the two. For the smaller the difference is, the greater fault and shame it is to make a breach for it: and though the other be, in the main, the greater sin, yet these are more plainly self-condemned.

IV. 4. The other difficulty that I proposed to speak of, is something greater. There is a man that thinks the church holds some errors; not fundamental ones indeed; but she has brought

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cannot join in prayers to God which are grounded on, and do suppose a doctrine which he judges to be a false or mistaken one.

But, 1. The man acknowledges that this is not in matters fundamental.

2. He acknowledges that the main body of the prayers and service is such as all Christians agree to be necessary, and in which he may join with his mouth and understanding also.

Suppose then that there be some particular collects or prayers, or clauses of prayers, which he thinks to contain a mistake in them. May he not join with his brethren in the main, and omit the adding of his *Amen* to those particular clauses? Especially since no man requires of him to declare his approbation of the whole and every part? Is not this more Christian-like, than to fly to that dreadful extremity of separation, and total disowning, for a disputable point, which may possibly be his own mistake? And if the truth of the matter be that it is his own mistake; is there any likelier way to come to the knowledge of the truth, than by continuing in the body of the church, where the members, the faithful Christians, do by mutual edification help one another? Is not this the very counsel of St. Paul, Phil. iii. 15, 16. *And if in any thing ye be otherwise minded, God shall reveal even this unto you. Nevertheless,* [or however that be,] *whereto we have already attained, let us walk by the same rule, let us mind the same thing?* This last clause [*let us mind the same thing*] is in the sense of the original, *let us be unanimous;* as bishop Stillingfleet[t] has shewn:

[t] Unreasonableness of Separation, part ii. sect. 19.

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that law binds the stronger in all other cases not excepted. For it is supposed, if there had been any more, he would have named them too. The Scripture gives a very positive law against separations. It excepts some cases. It is a very presumptuous thing to add any more to them of our own heads. They are these:

1. If a church do practise idolatry. St. Paul, warning the Corinthians of the heathen idolaters, says, *Come out from among them, and be ye separate*, 2 Cor. vi. 17. Though the popish idolatry be not so rank as that of those heathens, yet the general words do seem to reach their case. But the ignorant people among many sects of separatists, finding here the word *separate*, do indiscriminately apply it to justify separation from Christians against whom they do not in the least pretend any accusation of idolatry.

2. If a church teach doctrines encouraging any wickedness, as fornication, &c., or destructive of the fundamentals of the Christian faith. St. Paul mentions some, 2 Tim. ii. 18, that denied the resurrection and judgment to come. He commands Timothy to shun them; *for their word will eat as doth a canker.*

3. The Scripture commands that no sin be committed to obtain any purpose never so good. Therefore a church that will not admit us without our doing a thing that is wicked, or declaring and subscribing something that is false, does thereby thrust us out of her communion. And the guilt of the sin of separation lies at her door.

4. If a church be schismatical, i. e. in a state of unjustifiable division or separation from another

church from which she has withdrawn herself. So St. Paul commands, Rom. xvi. 17. *Mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned, and avoid them.*

These exceptions I find in Scripture: and I know of no more that reach to churches (particular men that live wickedly are to be avoided in our conversation, we know). He that separates from any church upon any ground except one of these four, ought to take heed and be well assured that he find his ground in the Scripture.

VI. Now to apply what has been said to the paedobaptists and antipaedobaptists: the main inquiry is, whether the point in debate between them be a fundamental article of the Christian faith; for if it be, they must indeed separate in their communion, and the guilt will lie on those that are in the error. But if it be not, there is not by the rules laid down any sufficient reason for their separating or renouncing one another, which party soever be in the wrong.

Now I think that such a question about the age or time of one's receiving baptism does not look like a fundamental, nor is so reputed in the primitive sense of Christians. And there are these reasons why it should not be so accounted:

1. It is a general rule, that all fundamental points are in Scripture so plainly and clearly delivered, that any man of common understanding may perceive the meaning of the text ordinarily, or we should believe them [illegible]

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nians; the one for refusing it, the other for counting it indifferent. But at what age the children of Christians should be baptized, whether in infancy or to stay till the age of reason, is not so clearly delivered, but that it admits of a dispute that has considerable perplexities in it: I mean with those that know not the history of the Scripture-times, nor the force of some of the original words in Scripture used. There is, as I have said, no plain example or instance of the baptism of any one that had been born of Christian parents set down at all either as received by him at full age, or received in infancy: which would have been the surest guide to us. None I mean, that is plain to vulgar readers of the English translation of Scripture: for that many of the Fathers did take 1 Cor. vii. 14. for a plain instance, I shewed before. And for the commission, Matt. xxviii. 19, and our Saviour's rule, John iii. 5, whether they are to be understood to include infants and all, or only adult persons, is not so plain to the said readers as fundamental points use to be. God's providence does not suffer, that the understanding of those places, upon the belief of which the salvation of all, even the meanest and most ignorant Christian does depend, (and such are the fundamental articles,) should require much skill, learning, or sagacity; but only an honest purpose and desire to learn. This therefore being not set down so very plain, does not seem by Scripture to be such a fundamental, as that we should be bound to renounce communion with every one that is not of the same opinion as we are about it.

The Epistle to the Hebrews, ch. vi. 1, 2, speaking of some things which are styled 'princi

of the oracles of God.' reckons among them the 'doctrine of baptisms and of laying on of hands.' Now whether the meaning of that place be to reckon both these as things that must be believed and owned by all that shall be saved, is a question that needs not be discussed here. For suppose it be; both these parties do own baptism: they differ only about the time or manner of receiving it.

2. The ancient and primitive Christians for certain did not reckon this point among the fundamental ones. For they drew up short draughts and summaries of the faith, which we call creeds: and into these they put all those articles which they thought fundamental or absolutely necessary. Now though some churches had their creeds a little larger than others; and some councils or meetings of Chistians did overdo, in putting some opinions which they valued more than need was into their creeds; yet there never was any creed at all that had this article in it; either 'that infants are to 'be baptized:' or, that 'only adult persons are to be 'baptized.'

Baptism itself does indeed make an article in several old creeds. As for example, in the Constantinopolitan, which is now received in all Christendom; 'I acknowledge one baptism for the remission 'of sins.' But the determination of the age or manner of receiving it was never thought fit to make an article of faith.

3. As for particular men among the ancients, there is I know some of them [redacted]

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of the matter, water; and of the form of baptism: and then says, ch. 10, 'Having now discoursed of 'all things that make up the religion [or essence] 'of baptism, I will proceed to speak *de quæstiuncu-* '*lis quibusdam*, of some questions of small moment;' and it is among those *quæstiunculæ* that he treats concerning the age of receiving it. I recited the place at large, part i. ch. 4. §. 2, &c.

100. 4. As Tertullian thought it a question of lesser moment, so it seems the Christians of that time and place did not reckon it of so great moment as to break communion. For when he expressed his opinion to be against the practice then used of baptizing infants ordinarily, yet we do not find that he was excommunicated for that; nor at all, till he excommunicated himself by running away to the sect of the Montanists, who were indeed for their impious opinions abhorred of all Christians. Whereas if it had been accounted a fundamental article of faith, he could not have been borne with in his denial of it.

230. 5. This is yet more clear in the case of Gregory the father of Gregory Nazianzen, who, (if I computed right at part i. ch. 11. §. 6, of which I do since that time make a question for the reasons given in this third edition,) had some children born to him after he was in priest's orders, whom he brought up with him in the house without baptizing them; and they were not baptized till their adult age. And yet the man continued priest, and afterward bishop of that place till he died, being nigh one hundred years old. This for the sense of the ancient church.

6. For the sense of modern Christians: first the papists of modern times do confidently maintain,

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that there is no proof at all (direct or consequential) from the Scripture for infant-baptism. And it is certain, they do not pretend that there is any against it; for their church as well as others does practise it: and though their church can do well enough without Scripture, yet they would not have her convicted of going contrary to it. It follows then from their pretence, that the Scripture is silent in the case. If so, then it is a thing that no protestant will account a fundamental, and consequently will not divide for it. So these men's arguments will make us all friends; at least so far as to live in communion with one another. The worse would be, that if we did so, we should lose all those fine arguments against infant-baptism that come out in popish books every year. For they, seeing us united, would not count it worth their while; and they would then be as well content that there should be proof in Scripture for infant-baptism, as not.

But to leave these men, and to speak of such as are serious in religion: the most serious and judicious, both of the pædobaptists and antipædobaptists (even those of them that have been most engaged against each other in polemical writings, which do commonly abate people's charity) do agree that this difference is not in the essentials of religion. Here I might (if I had not been too long already) recite the words of bishop Taylor, Dr. Hammond, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Wills, &c., on the one side; and of Mr. Tombes, Mr. Stennet, &c., on the other. Mr. Stennet, in a book come out the other day, says[n]: 'If he [Mr. Rosseu] mean ——— that

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'they [the antipædobaptists] cannot look upon those 'that differ from them, as Christians, ——— the 'contrary is well known.' And again, 'Enough 'has been said before, to take off the second re- 'proach which he [Mr. Russen] casts on them [the 'antipædobaptists], viz. that they judge none of the 'true church, but those of their own way.' But it is better to quote their confessions. In the first year of king William, one party of the antipædobaptists [the *particular* men] published a Confession of their Faith: they say, it is the same for substance with that published 1643, in the name of seven churches, which I suppose were the first in England. Now they say, they are concerned for 'above a hundred.' They declare in the preface the design both of that and this confession to be, 'to manifest their consent with both [the presby- 'terians and independents] in all the fundamental 'articles of the Christian religion;' and, as they add afterwards, with other protestants. It is plain then, that they count not the age or manner of receiving baptism to be a fundamental.

And here, forasmuch as this confession is but lately come to my hands, I ought to do that justice to these men, as to own that they do for their part disclaim several of those opinions which I at ch. viii. §. 6, said were held by some of the English antipædobaptists. For besides that they give a full and catholic confession of the doctrines of the holy Trinity, ch. 2; of Christ's divinity and consubstantiality, ch. 8; and of his satisfaction, ch. 8 and 11; the denial of which points is not charged on any church of antipædobaptists: but only that some Socinians intrude among them, as they do every where:—Be-

sides these, they own original sin, ch. 6. Oaths imposed by authority to be lawful, ch. 23. The Lord's day to be the day for Christian worship, and the Saturday sabbath to be abolished, ch. 22. That every church has from Christ all that power that is needful for carrying on order in worship and discipline, ch. 26. All bishops or elders, and deacons to be ordained by imposition of hands, ibid. All pastors to have a comfortable supply from the church, so as they need not be entangled in secular affairs; but may live of the Gospel, the people communicating to them of all their good things, ibid. No member of a church ought to separate upon account of any offence [or scandal] taken at any of their fellow members, but to wait upon Christ in the further proceeding of the church, ibid. In the Lord's Supper the minister to give the bread and wine to the communicants, ch. 30. So it seems these do not hand it about among themselves, as is said of some of them. Worthy receivers do by faith 'really and 'indeed,' yet not carnally and corporeally, but spiritually, receive and feed upon Christ crucified, ibid. Souls do not die nor sleep; but at a man's death are either received into glory, or cast into hell, reserved to the judgment, ch. 31. Civil magistrates to be obeyed for conscience sake, ch. 24. But I cannot say how they reconcile this with what they say, ch. 21, that to obey out of conscience any human commands not contained in God's word, is to betray true liberty of conscience. This needs a little explication.

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Moreover what is to our present purpose, they

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'God by Christ according unto it, not destroying 'their own profession by any errors everting the 'foundation, or unholiness of conversation, are and 'may be called, visible saints,' ch. 26. And they say afterward, ch. 27, 'That all these saints are bound 'to maintain an holy fellowship and communion 'in the worship of God.' Of which communion they say a little after, that 'as God offers opportu-'nity, it is to be extended to all the *household of* '*faith*; even all *those who in every place call upon* '*the name of the Lord Jesus.*'

This laid together makes full to the purpose I am speaking of: every one ought to continue in the communion of a church that has no errors which do evert the foundation. And an error, or supposed error, about the age or manner of receiving baptism, does not do that, by their own confession.

And now in the first year[x] of her present majesty, is published a draught of articles by some antipædobaptists, (the same I guess,) 'to manifest their 'nearness in union with other of her majesty's pro-'testant subjects.' There are thirty-six of them. They are verbatim (except two or three clauses of no moment) the same with thirty-six of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England; save that in the articles of baptism, they leave out the last clause about infants' baptism. They come near to that subscription that is required to capacitate one for orders in that church: one would think then it should not be difficult to accommodate the matter of lay-communion.

What has been said does in the whole amount

[x] [Namely, 1702. I have not been able to meet with this publication.]

to this: that putting the case that there were in any nation a number of believers in Christ, who were not yet settled in any form of church-government, and did besides differ in some opinions not fundamental; and among the rest, in this question about infants' baptism; their duty would be, to unite themselves into one body or church, and not separate into parties and several churches for that difference. And if it be asked, how they should regulate the order for public worship in which they were all to join; and particularly whether they should allow an infant brought by its parents to the church for baptism, to be there baptized, or not allow it; there is no other way in such a case, than after a debate by arguments from Scripture and reason, to suffer themselves to be all determined by the major vote, which major vote must fix the rules of the national church there to be settled: and the minor part, who would have had some things to have been otherwise ordered, must comply with their brethren, and join in all things that they can, and by no means make a division. If the premises that have been laid down, be looked upon as proved, they do certainly enforce this conclusion.

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For any man to say in this case, the Scripture, and not the major vote, should determine, is frivolous. Because it is presupposed in the case, that it is about the meaning of Scripture, and about the force of the consequences and arguments drawn from Scripture, that they differ; and the Scripture itself directs them, that in such differences not fundamental, they should close and unite as well as

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now, when there are in all places national churches already s tled, one ought, in order to lay the balance even between the pædobaptists and antipædobaptists, to suppose or imagine a thing that is not, but may easily be supposed; and that is, that there were some national church or churches of antipædobaptists in the world. And suppose a number of Christians, pædobaptists in their opinion, were by providenc brought to live in one of those places; the question is, whether they ou ht to join in communion with the church of antipædobaptists there established, or make a separate body renouncing communion with them. I think it follows, from the rules of Scripture that have been laid down, that they ought to join with them. And I do not stick to declare, that if I were one of those new comers, I would do it, for one. So that I advise them to nothing in respect to their joining the church here, but what I think were to be done by us if we were in their case. I mean, I would do thus; since my opinion is, that infants ought to be baptized, I would get my own children baptized by all means possible; but when that were done, I would nevertheless continue to join in public prayers, hearing, receiving the communion, &c., with them, if they would admit me; if they rejected me for my opinion, the guilt of that breach would lie on them, and not on me. It is not an antipædobaptist or other dissenter in opinion that one is not to communicate with: it is a schismatic or divider that one is not to communicate with. And whereas some pædobaptist will say to me; 'You seem by 'this putting of the case to make the opinio 'equal; theirs to be as good as ours: and that it

'only by the majority that we have the advantage:' I do not so; but this I say, the difference is not in fundamentals. And therefore, if thou be strong, and they be weak; thou wise, and they foolish; thy opinion rational, theirs silly; yet we are still (or ought to be, for all the difference of opinions) members of the same body, and brethren. Men are not to be cut off for mistaken opinions that are consistent with true faith. Indeed if they will cut off themselves, there is no help for that. When a church loses its members, and they part from her as limbs from a body, there is that to be said which is commonly said of a husband and wife parting: there is certainly a great fault somewhere; but there is commonly some fault on both sides.

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Now to lay aside supposals, and to take the state of religion as it is now in the world: there is no national church in the world (and I think never was) but what are pædobaptists. All that are of the other way, are such as have within the last two centuries made a separation from the established churches of the places where they are: as I made appear, ch. 8. The reasons that I have laid down from Scripture do require that they should return to unity of communion in those things wherein all Christians are agreed: and they may continue to argue in a charitable way about the opinion till one side be satisfied, or till they are weary. This is the best way to save their souls, whatever become of the opinion.

To speak of the case of England in particular. They know themselves that it is a separation less than eighty years ago, as I shew at ch. Any very ancient man may remember wh

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horror of it, but being read by an Englishman, do lose their force with him, is, because he has been born and bred in a nation where that is so common, and practised by men that are in other things so conscientious, that he is apt to put any forced sense on the words, rather than think that that text of St. Paul, for example, Rom. xvi. 17, is to be taken as the words sound; though there is (if a man desire plain Scripture) not a plainer text in the whole Bible. But the word of God and his law is not like human laws, that it should lose its edge by the multitude of offenders. God will not punish any sin less, I doubt he will punish it more, for having been a common or reigning one.

Some people also have so slightly considered the commands of God, that they think nothing to be a sin, but what they see punished by the secular laws. And so because some Christian nations (whereof England does of late make one) have thought fit to grant an impunity to schismatics for some reasons of state, and to tolerate (though not approve of) churches or societies renouncing communion with the established church of the place, they are apt to think that God also does allow of the same, which will be true when God in his judgment will think fit to regulate himself by statute laws. But till that be, it is certain by God's word that either such a church, or else those that renounce her communion, are schismatics: either the one for giving just causes to the others to separate from her; or else the others for separating without just cause. It is certain also, that if any church should so comply with reasons of state or human laws, teach, that schism (however by them tole

on this subject, and directed to the antipaedobap- CHAP. XI.
tists, to shew that, supposing their opinion to be true, yet their schism is a sin: and that by men of both the opinions. One that is not rash, but desires to guide his conscience warily, will at least read and weigh what they say. Mr. Tombes, who continued an antipaedobaptist to his dying day, yet as I am told[s], wrote against separation for it; and for communion with the parish churches. I have not seen that book; but this I have seen[a], that where he defends his opinion against Marshal, and where Marshal had said, 'The teachers of this 'opinion, whenever they prevail, take their prose- 'lytes wholly off from the ministry of the word, 'and sacraments, and all other acts of Christian 'communion both public and private, from any but 'those that are of their own opinion.' To this Tombes answers; 'This is indeed a wicked prac- 'tice, justly to be abhorred: the making of sects 'upon difference of opinion, reviling, separating from 'their teachers and brethren otherwise faithful, be- 'cause there is not the same opinion in disputable 'points, or in clear truths not fundamental, is a thing 'too frequent in all sorts of dogmatists, &c. I look 'upon it as one of the great plagues of Christianity. 'You shall have me join with you in shewing my 'detestation of it. Yet nevertheless, first it is to 'be considered that this is not the evil of antipaedo- 'baptism, (you confess some are otherwise minded,) 'and therefore must be charged on the persons, not 'on the assertion itself. And about this, what they

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'hold, you may have now [the] best satisfaction 'from the Confession of Faith in the Name of Seven 'Churches of them, Art. 33, &c.' And accordingly Mr. Tombes himself continued in communion with the church till he died.

Mr. Baxter, who has wrote more books than any man in England against the opinion, yet has also wrote more against the dividing for it, and has made many wishes and proposals for accommodations of both sides joining in public communion; especially in his latter books, and in the history of his own life, when he had lived to see the great mischief that schisms do to religion and all piety. I will mention only one passage, wherein he recommends to the antipædobaptists two books, useful to give them a true state of the question about the unlawfulness of separation. 'I am,' says he[b], 'not half so zealous to turn men from the opinion 'of anabaptistry, as I am to persuade both them 'and others that it is their duty to live together 'with mutual forbearance, in love and church-'communion, notwithstanding such differences: for 'which they may see more reasons given, by one 'that was once of their mind and way, (Mr. William 'Allen, in his Retractation of Separation, and his 'Persuasive to Unity,) than any of them can soundly 'refel, though they may too easily reject them.' But then Mr. Baxter gives there a marginal note, telling the antipædobaptists, 'Satan will not con-'sent that you should soberly read the books.' Now methinks an antipædobaptist that is desirous

[b] Confutation of Forgeries of H. D. sect. 2. c. 2. §. 13. [in his 'More Proofs of Infants' church-membership,' &c., 8°. 1675. page 221.]

to direct his conscience aright in so weighty a matter as separation is, should not let Satan have his will altogether; but should read such books, and consider them at least, whether Satan will consent or not. CHAP. XI. Year after the apostles.

This I will own, in excuse of the English antipædobaptists that do so divide; that it is a harder thing to repent of the sin of schism in England, than it is any where else. For the commonness of any sin does in unthinking minds wonderfully abate the sense of the guilt of it. When drunkenness is grown common, and almost universal, one can hardly persuade an ordinary man that it is a thing that will bring damnation on his soul; because he sees almost all the neighbourhood, and among them such a gentleman, or such a lord, as much concerned in that as he. So an antipædobaptist thinks, Whatever my opinion be, the separation for it can be no great fault; for the presbyterians, and other parties of men, do that as well as we, and for lesser differences. If we have taken those opinions which our ancestors held without separating, and have made a separate religion out of them, it is but what the others did before us: for they have taken the opinions which the old puritans had, and (though the puritans could not) yet they have made good Brownism out of them. And so for other parties. Now this humour of dividing is nowhere in the world so common as it is in England, (at least if we except the country I spoke of before,) nor the sin of schism so little feared, I mean of late years. The reason why the same texts of Scripture against schism, division, heresy, &c., being read by the protestants of other nations, do create in their minds a

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be done, then indeed I have no more to say on this head: there is a full stop put to the proposal. But there are these reasons to think that it would not be so:

First, I never heard of that done: but several times the contrary. All the antipædobaptists, or indeed other dissenters, that I have known excommunicated, have been excommunicated, not for their opinion, but their refusal of communion, or for contempt in refusing to come at all to the bishop's court.

2. Mr. Tombes (and several others, but I will name only him, because his case is generally known) continued in communion in the church of Salisbury all the latter part of his life. And though he during that time owned his opinion, and wrote for it, yet because he desired to make no schism of it, he was not disturbed in his communicating with the church. Nor has that church ever been blamed for receiving him. On the contrary, the example has been spoken of with commendation in a very public way. This shews it to be practicable: and if it be so; then,

Thirdly, There is a great and manifest advantage in it. For it prevents a schism, which otherwise would be. The man continuing in communion, all things will tend to an accommodation: whereas in a separation every thing is aggravated to the widening of the gap, as we see by constant and woful experience. A separate party never thinks itself far enough off from any terms of reconciliation.

The second difficulty, which concerns, as I said, both the bishop and the curate, is this. By the order of the church of England, no person is to be

admitted to partake of the holy communion till he be confirmed, or be ready and desirous to be confirmed. And a qualification required of every person before he be brought to the bishop to be confirmed is, that he have learned (or, as it is expressed in another place, can answer to) the questions of the Catechism. Now in that Catechism there happens to be a mention of infants being baptized. For after that it has declared that baptism is to be given upon a covenant of faith and repentance, it follows; '*Qu.* Why then 'are infants baptized, when by reason of their ten-'der age they cannot perform them? *Answ.* Be-'cause they promise them both by their sureties: 'which promise, when they come to age, themselves 'are bound to perform.' Now this man being asked that question would not make that answer: but would say, they ought not to be baptized till they can perform them.

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But besides, that one may answer here (much as in the other case) that the practice is such, that not half the people that come to the communion are asked whether they have been confirmed, or not: and also, that those who come to be confirmed when they are of the age of a man, are seldom or never examined in the questions of the Catechism, provided it does by other ways sufficiently appear that they do understand the principles of religion; the questions as they stand in the Catechism being seldom put but only to children. Besides this, I say, it appears to have been the meaning of the Church in that question and answer, not to determine this point, whether infants are to be baptized (of which no En-

e baptized upon any other covenant than that upon which grown persons are baptized, viz. of repentance and faith. And it determines that they are not baptized on any other, but the very same: only with this difference; that an adult person is baptized into the hopes of the kingdom of heaven, inasmuch as he does believe; and an infant is baptized into the same, on condition that he do, when he comes to age, believe. And this indeed is a principle very necessary to be rightly understood. For a mistake herein might hinder those who are baptized in infancy from understanding the obligation that lies on them to faith and obedience, as ever they hope to partake of the kingdom of heaven: to prevent which mistake this clause of the Catechism seems to have been inserted. So that though the Church do here suppose indeed, or take it for granted, that infants are generally baptized; yet that is not the thing which she here defines: not that they are to be baptized; but *why* (or upon what terms) they are baptized. And this is a thing which an anti-pædobaptist holds as firmly as any man; that all baptism is to be upon this covenant. And he will readily assent to this; that supposing or taking it for granted that infants were to be baptized, they must be understood to be baptized on that covenant, viz. to enjoy the kingdom of heaven, on condition they do, when they come to age, perform the duties of faith and repentance.

And since this is the substance of what the Catechism there teaches, and the Catechism was intended, not to determine controversies, but to teach fundamental principles; I believe that the bishops would not refuse to confirm such a person, (otherwise sound

in the faith and conformable, and desirous of communion,) though he should own his sense in his answer to that question of the Catechism. This I think; but I end this discourse, wherein the authority of the church is concerned, as I began it; viz. in submitting my opinion to theirs, and leaving it to themselves to determine whether they would or not, or ought or not. CHAP. XI. Year after the apostles.

There are on the antipædobaptist's part, concerning his acceptance of communion with the Church, these two difficulties.

Some men of that way do think, that all such as have no other baptism but what was given in infancy and by affusion, are no Christians; and that to bid them hold communion with such, is as much as to bid them hold it with heathens. I hope there are not many such: and Mr. Stennet reckons it a slander on the antipædobaptists. And I am glad to find by his discourse that he is cordial in the abhorrence of so unchristian a notion. And therefore I shall say the less of it; having a natural antipathy against talking with any one whose principles are so desperately uncharitable as this comes to. What I said before, §. 6, to shew that this difference about the age or manner of receiving baptism is not a fundamental one, is applicable here. Let a man that has this thought first read that, and then let him consider further, what becomes of the church of Christ at this rate. Will he think that Christ has had no church but in those few times and places where this opinion has prevailed? Peter of Clugny (whom I quoted part ii. ch. 7. §. 5.) urges the Petrobrusians with this dreadful consequence five or six hundred years ago, that if infant-baptism

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be not valid, there had been never a Christian in Europe for three or five hundred years before: and that account is much increased now.

The sophisters in logic have a way by which, if a man do hold any the least error in philosophy, they will by a long train of consequences prove that he denies the first maxims of common sense. And some would bring that spiteful art into religion; whereby they will prove him that is mistaken in any the least point, to be that antichrist who denies the Father and the Son. If the pædobaptist be mistaken, or the antipædobaptist be mistaken; yet let them not make heathens of one another. The denial of the Quakers to be Christians, those of them I mean that do believe the Scriptures, has such a dreadful consequence with it; that one would not willingly admit it, (though they do deny all baptism,) because they do however profess that which is the chief thing signified and intended by baptism. But since both the parties we speak of now, do own the religion professed in baptism, and do also both use the outward sign; supposing that one side do err in the mode of it or the age of receiving it: to conclude thence that they are no Christians, is the property of one that knows not what spirit he is of. To receive baptism one's self in that way which one thinks the fittest, is one case: but it is another, and very different case, to judge all those to condemnation that have received it another way. *Who art thou that judgest another man's servant?* I know that the antipædobaptists do not admit to the Lord's Supper, when it is administered by themselves, any but what are baptized in their way. But I speak now of one that is to receive it, not to administer it:

he that receives it has no charge on his soul of the way in which those that receive with him have been baptized. But I have said more than is, I hope, needful on this head.

The *Confession*, which I mentioned before, of one hundred churches of antipædobaptists, does not say, that only the adult are capable of baptism: it says but thus; 'they are the only proper subjects of 'this ordinance[d];' and they do not say, that immersion is necessary to the administration; but 'that it is necessary to the *due* administration of 'it.' I mentioned at ch. v. §. 6. how the Christians of Africa and of Europe differed as much as this comes to, in their opinion of the validity of baptism given by schismatics: insomuch that the Africans baptized anew any schismatic that came over to the church; the Europeans did not so. But yet these churches did not break communion for this difference. A presbyter or bishop of Africa, coming to Rome, joined in communion; though there must needs be, in the congregations there, several who, according to his notion of the due way of baptizing, were not duly baptized; and whom he, if he had had the admitting of them into his own church in Africa, would have baptized anew. But he left this matter to the conscience and determination of the church of the place. And by this means of both parties' continuing communion, the whole matter in which they differed was at last amicably adjusted, as I there shew. And whereas the conduct of Stephen of Rome, who would have made a breach of this, has been since blamed by all

[d] Chap 29. [See above, p. 359. 552.]

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the Christians, as well of Rome as of other places; the conduct of Cyprian of Africa, who gave his determination of the question with this additional clause[e], [neminem judicantes, aut a jure communionis aliquem, si diversum senserit, amoventes: 'not 'judging any one, nor refusing communion with 'him, though he be of the other opinion],' has been since applauded by all Christians in the world, as a saying worthy of so excellent a martyr of Jesus Christ, and a precedent fit to be observed in the determination of all questions that are not fundamental.

The other difficulty is, that if such a man do come to join in the prayers of the Church of England: if there be an infant brought to be baptized in the time of the public service, he cannot join in the prayers used in that office: or, at least, not in all of them.

This must be confessed, while he holds that opinion. But I shewed before, at §. 4, that this ought not to hinder his joining in the other prayers: so that paragraph may serve for answer to this. He may, when the people are kneeling at those prayers, stand up, or sit and read in his Bible. There were in king William's time some, that, not being satisfied about his title, thought they ought not join in, or say *Amen* to, some of those prayers wherein he was named. However they were blamed by the state for not agreeing in those; they were never blamed by the church for continuing to join in the rest.

[e] Proloquium St. Cypriani in Concil. Carthag. [See the first and last sentences of the piece, entitled 'Sententia Episcoporum 'lxxxvii. de Hæreticis Baptizandis,' in St. Cyprian's works, p. 229. edit. Fell. p. 329. edit. Benedict.]

CHAP. IX.

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What I have said of the antipædobaptists does plainly reach to the case of several other dissenters. And that with greater force of the argument, because they differ less from the church in opinions.

One thing I am persuaded of concerning the antipædobaptists; and that is, that if they were convinced that this joining in the public service of the Church were lawful and practicable for them, they would join at another rate than some shifting people do nowadays. I take them generally to be cordial, open, and frank expressers of their sentiments. If they thought that St. Paul's command of 'receiving one another' did reach to this case that I have been speaking of, (as I think it does,) they would not interpret it trickishly, as some lawyers do a statute in which they seek a flaw and an evasion: to lurk behind the words of it, while they defeat the true meaning. They would conclude, that what God commands us to do, he means we should do cordially, sincerely, and *bona fide;* and not to deal with his word as a Jesuit does with an oath. And therefore that if his word do bid us receive one another, he means we should do it entirely.

There is one entreaty that I would use to them; which is, that if they be at all moved to consider of such joining, and to deliberate whether it be lawful, or be a duty, or not, they would make a good and prudent choice of the men whose advice they ask about it. There are some men among all parties (I hope it is not many) that do promote divisions out of interest. These, as St. Paul says, *serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly.* They consider if the schism should drop, what would

[illegible] men of [illegible] esteem, credit, applause, admiration, [illegible] man, &c., which they get by heading and leading of parties: they must then be but as common Christians, walking even with the rest in a beaten road, and all the grave of setting up new ways would be lost. These are not fit for any pious and sincere man to trust with the direction of his conscience: nor likely to give a true verdict. On the contrary, they are the cause of most of the divisions which Christ has foretold. He says that offences [or scandals] must come: and St. Paul says, *there must be heresies* [or divisions]. We may say of both, *Woe unto the men by whom they come*. The civil law has, I think, a rule, that when any great mischief appears to be spread among the people, and it is not known who were the authors that first set it on foot, it should be inquired, *Cui bono fuit?* Who are the men that are likely to get any advantage [illegible] them? These that promote [illegible] for interest, keep their consciences, as [illegible] their souls, pure and clear of purposes and will not have them healed for any money. Let not any honest man trust them with the keeping of his. But apply to a man who, of which opinion soever he be, is cordial, sincere, and has no interest in the advice he gives.

I shall conclude with the words of St. Paul, which I have made, as it were, the text of this sermon: *Receive ye one another, as Christ also received us.* Christ received us, when we were not only silly, mistaken, erroneous, but sinful too. He received us, that he might make us wiser and better. St. Paul adds: *to the glory of God:* meaning, that God is no way more dishonoured than by our divisions, nor any

ways more glorified than by our unity and receiving one another. CHAP. XI.

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The whole context is thus, Rom. xv. 5, 6, 7:

Now the God of patience and consolation grant you to be likeminded [i. e. unanimous] *one toward another according to Christ Jesus: that ye may with one mind and one mouth* [i. e. unanimously] *glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Wherefore* [or to which purpose that you may so do] *receive ye one another,* [though differing in opinion,] *as Christ also received us, to the glory of God.* Amen.



AN ALPHABETICAL TABLE

OF SOME FEW MATTERS.

Antipædobaptism.

St. Austin (year after the apostles 317) disputing for the doctrine of original sin, and Pelagius against it, do both agree that no Christian (catholic or sectary) that either of them had read or heard of, was an antipædobaptist; part i. p. 383, 448. The opinion of antipædobaptism not a sufficient cause of separation; part ii. ch. *ult.*

Baptism

Given by the Jews to proselytes, and their infant children; Introduction. Given by the Christians generally by dipping; part ii. p. 384: but by affusion in case of weakness, &c.; part ii. p. 385. Other washings, beside dipping, are in Scripture called *baptism*, or the baptizing of a man; part ii. p. 329.

Bishops.

The Christians of Irenæus' time [anno 180] were able to reckon up those that were placed bishops by the apostles in the several churches, and their successors to that time; part i. p. 59; part ii. p. 441. Valentinian the emperor said, It was a thing too great for him to undertake, to nominate a bishop; part ii. p. 70, 98. They were wont in the primitive church to be chosen by the clergy and people of the diocese; part ii. p. 385.

Councils.

Infant-baptism not instituted or enacted in any council; but in all that speak of it, is supposed or taken for granted as a Christian doctrine known before; part i. p. 136, 259. One of the earliest councils since the apostles' time speaks

i. p. 126. The councils of Carthage and Milevis, [and that of Carthage, [anno 418,] do not enact ...s must be baptized, (that being a known thing ...t that baptism is in them for *remission of sin*; ... 25, &c., 468, &c.; part ii. p. 26, 27.

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...ral use formerly; part ii. p. 384. When left off ...ral countries of Europe; part ii. p. 393—406 ... all countries hot or cold, except such where the Pope's power ...vail; part ii. p. 413, 414.

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Rebellion.

St. Ambrose concludes that Maximus and Eugenius are in hell, for their rebellions, though against a tyrannous and heretical emperor; part ii. p. 68.

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